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BOMBAY BRANCH

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Short Account

OF

INDIA TO 1915.

WRITER & PUBLISHER.

G. DESHMUKH, St. C. S. Bombay (Retired)

Collr. Sholapur and Pol. Agent

Akalkot 1895-1896

Pimpari. Near Chichwad

Poona District.

1917.

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PREFACE

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There is no unmixed good in the world. Neither is there any unmixed evil but in everything, either good or evil predominates and it is this predomination which defines its class. Again this predomination varies in degree; some times it is slight and sometimes immense, or more or less.

Excess of rain, over-economy are harmful to a degree but they are not so harmful as draught or extravagance. This excess of rain again may itself be slight or immense and the harm varies accordingly. The same thing applies to over-economy. In the same way theft may be relieved by liberality and licentiousness by sincerity. This liberality and sincerity may themselves be slight or immense and reduce the evil of theft and licentiousness in varying degrees.

When we write the history of a country and try to form conclusions about the causes of its rise or fall, we have to consider this mixture of good and evil and their degrees of predomination in the doctrines held in the country during the period of its history and give each its due credit or discredit. We must neither hastily condemn nor unreservedly praise e. g.the pantheism, Jainism, idolatry, caste and sex distinctions in regard to their personal and civil rights but carefully study their good or evil sides and give to them what may be their due. India was at first ritualistic, martial and prosperous. It next wrote out laws, formed castes and became engaged in internal conflicts. It developed pantheism for some time and next Buddhism. This last religion inculcates very great regard for all but one's own. The Greek and Scythian inroads began at

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this time. The cheif mistake of Buddhism was discovered and it was changed out of India but its principles did not leave the country. Puranas were next written which inaugurated or increased idol-worship and reliance on God, in substitution of human effort. Influence of caste distinctions, pride, licentiousness and internal quarrels, increased. The Mahomedan invasions began at this period of the weakness of the country. The Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs maintained their ground with varying success. Europe was far more advanced than Asia from the close of the sixteenth century and the Dutch, Portuguese, French and English began to come as companies for trade. The last power prevailed over every other power European or Asiatic and brought order and harmony into the country in place of previous hostilities and plunder.

British rule in India is one of the most wonderful works of human effort and order of Providence. Orthodox patriots may rage, pro-bureacrats may revel, the reformers may busy themselves about reforms and there may be that larger number of men who have no political opinions and who may be called political agnostics, the fact of the rule is a hard reality for all and deserves careful study.

If the fact of the rule is unique in human history the effect of the rule on the Indian mind with its strong old assosiations is even a more interesting subject of study. Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Bamfield Fuller, Mr Houghton, Mr Bevan and others have written about this effect. Englishmen are far better fitted to take a broad and comprehensive view than any Indian writer but the latter has also some advantages on his side. His life-long acquaintance with and love of his country and his feelings as a unit of the subject nation--these are advantages which no foreign writer can be

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expected to possess. Many Indian writers too have written on this subject but not very pointedly and the subject is inexhaustible like the effect of the Sun upon the Earth and no one can be regarded as doing anything but service to his country who takes the trouble to give an expression to his views. The present book is the result of this idea.

In the first chapter I have briefly reviewed the character of the changes through which India passed from Vedic times to the year 1757 when wars began in earnest between the English and Indian people. I have described the state of civilization of Europe and India of the time. In the second chapter I have given the causes of the rapid success of the British arms, stated the cardinal current doctrines of the Indian people, traced the good and bad points of English administration and closed with the establishment of the Universities in 1857. In the third chapter an account has been given of the religious, intellectual, commercial and political activities of the Indian nation upto 1880. In the fourth chapter further growth of these same activities has been traced up to 1900 and reference has been made to a religious re-action which was all the more remarkable as it set in, in an age of advanced science. In the fifth chapter the chief events of the last fourteen years have been mentioned and reforms in administration suggested. In the last chapter some statistics have been given for 1912--13 to which I had not access when the previous chapter was written, expert opinion has been quoted on the important subject of tariff, some extracts on important matters have been given from Mr. Reed's latest year book and, after quoting opinions of celebrated Indian historical writers, general reflections have been entered into as to the causes of

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India's fall or backward condition. At the end an attempt has been made to estimate the social value of the doctrines of the Geeta a work very generally honored in India.

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED.

Orme's History of British India
„ Manners and order of Government of the people of Indostan.
Mill and Wilson's History of British India.
Elphinstone's „ of India.
Sinclairs „ of India.
Buckley's „ „ England.
Inne's „ „ „
Hunter's „ „ Indian Empire.
Dutt's—India in the Victorian age.
„ —Ancient History of India.
Ranade's—Lectures on Indian Economics..
„ Rise of the Maratha power.
Champaklal's Rise of the English power (Gujarati)
Mahipatram's History of Greece (Gujarati)
Diaries of Shahu to Sawai Madhavrao.
published by the Deccan V. T. Society. (Marathi and English.)
Vira Raghavachariar's History of India for schools.
Chandabhoy's History of India for schools
Oscar Browning's History of the world from 1815.
Thayer's Life of Cavour.
Swami Dayanand's works–Hindi and Sanskrit.
Forbes Annals of Gujarat.
Gopalrao Hari's works–Marathi.
Chiplunkar's Nibandha Mala.
Kunte's Chintanika and Pandit's Vedartha Yatna.

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Kirloskar's plays.
Stanley Reed's Indian year Book 1915.
Government Statistical publications for 1912–13.
Lee Warner's Native States 1910.
Temple's India 1880.
Sewell's Forgotten Empire.
Maclean's Guide to Bombay.
Col. Tod's Rajasthan.
Theo Merz's History of European thought.

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CHAPTER I.

From Vedic times to 1757 A. D.

Condition of India in 1757–Four great powers–Their religion–Three periods of Hindu religion–Vedic, Smritic and Puranic–Together they cover not ten but hundred centuries–European and Indian view of the time of writing of the chief books of the three periods–Character of the religion of the three periods–Relation between Upanishadas and Darshanas. What is Buddhism–Purana period and Mahomedan invasions face to face–Principal Mahomedan rulers and invaders " Account of Mahomed the prophet. " Rise of Sikhs–Nanak Shah and his nine successors–Rise of Marathas-Marathi writers–Jnaneshvar father of Marathi literature and Sivajee of Maratha political society--Wickliff and Jnaneshvar distinguished. The latter compared to Chaucer--Other saints too not reformers--Dr. Hunter's statement that the British won India from Hindus and not Mahomedans referred to as Correct--Changes in social and religious matters from Buddhism to the 18th century--Huge mass of high class writing but unprogressive–Relations between the two continents–Europe and Asia, and their languages–Points of social, religious and political similarity and contrast.

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The latter out-number the former--Europe in advance of India from the 16th century distinctly--Modern Europe described in Inne's words--Question of reformation settled in the sixteenth century in England–Authority of parliament over king settled in the 17th century–First settlement of English in India 1628--India far behind in Literature, Science, practical human sympathy politics and art of war—Clive's career from 1751 to 1757–This latter year generally regarded as that of foundation of British power in India.—The Indian ship of state found in an unseaworthy condition.–Crew in disorder and passengers unhappy.

CHAPTER II.

First hundred years of British rule
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Contrast of Mahomedan and British ascendancy in India--Causes of decline of the Hindu power--Guru Nanak found religious reform necessary to withstand the power of the Mahomedans but Sivaji found religious orthodoxy serve his purpose–It consequently incseased in force in the Maharashtra and wherever maratha power extended its tenets.

1 Contemplation of soul–The key to all–knowledge This is the idea of Upanishadas.

2 Living on alms honourable–Buddhists idea.

3 Not only neglect but contempt of the world the first step to spiritual progress.

4 Idol--worship–outlives iconoclasticism.

5 Doctrine of not causing hurt to any living thing. Tenderness towards life.

6 Cow-worship--cause of feuds between Hindus and Mahamedans. Rights of subjects against King almost unknown in India. Inferior military Art.

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Clive's brilliant career–Returns to England. Other men advance the power of England–Calliaud, Knox and Hector–Munro's successes–Clive comes back but fails to reform administration–Returns--Is censured and commits suicide.

First war with Hyder--Peace concluded 1768.

System of government changed--Governor of Bengal becomes Governor-General 1773—Establishment of court of justice in Calcutta.

America declares independence 1776. England at war with France--English reverse in Deccan 1779.

Ireland clamours for independence. Lord Cornwallis surrenders 1781. Howe and Rodney's successes 1782–Hyder dies–Younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister 1783–Peace with Marathas at Salpa-Independence of America acknowledged.

Appointment of Board of control 1784 to remove conflict of executive and judicial authorities in India–Mr Mill and Lord Macaulay's observations on the conflict and the appointment of the Board. Cornwallis first Peer as Governer-General 1786.

French Revolution—Napolean's qualifications as a soldier, General and Civil ruler surprize nations. He tries to come to India. Tipu attacks Travancore. English attack Seringapatam. Peace 1792.

Napoleon first as consul and then as Emperor.

England's affairs again unsatisfactory.

Sindia's death 1794.

Nizam defeated at Kharda 1795. He dies. Also Mahomed Ali of Carnatic.

Bajirao succeeds Madhavrao 1796.

Tipu's last war 1799.

Mysore under British Government. Tanjore, Carnatic and Surat annexed 1801. Jaswantrao Holkar and Daulat

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Rao Sindia fighting for territory.

Bajirao and Sindia defeated by Holkar and Poona (part) burnt-Bajirao seeks British protection.

Treaty of Amiens with Napoleon---Sindia and Bhonsle defeated by General Wellesly at Asai. 1803.

Bhonsle again defeated at Argaon and Sindia at Laswari.

War again in 1805.

Poona, Nagpur, Gujerat, Gwalior, Oudh and Rajputana all pay subsidy in territory for maintenance of troops under English control. This is the subsidiary system. British power becomes paramount in India.

Napoleon forbids continental nations to trade with England. His fleet distroyed at Trafalgar. His successes on land at Austerlitz and Jena. Pitt and Fox died.

Progress of English administrative work in India.

Napoleon's campaign in Russia. Great loss by winter and want of food 1812.

Abdication 1814.

Defeat at Waterloo by Wellington 1815.

English success aganist Nepoleon 1816.

Holkar defeated by Sir John Malcolm 1817. He joins the subsidiary system 1818.

Bajirao attacks the English and is pensioned off 1818.

The Burmese defeated by Campbell at Donabu 1826.

Progress of administrative work in India. A brief view of the judicial system from Shahu's times to Elphinstone–Munro's employment of European agency in executive and judicial lines. Bureacratic system firmly established. Evil not felt early as this country had to learn much about the new system of Government and this fully occupied the people for thirty years.

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Bentinck's administration.
Raja Ram Mohanroy's work.
English education the real bond of union between India and England 1833.
Vira Raghvachariar's manual of Indian history referred to in connection with advancement of natives in official position. Chandabhoy's manual referred to in connection with Bentinck's work.
Knowledge of printing and other arts in India through English connection.
Expedition to Cabul 1841
Sind annexed 1843
Maharajah of Gwalior becomes a feudatory of the British Government. 1844
First Sikh War. 1845
Civil Engineering College established at Rurki.
Municipality at Calcutta. Improvements in Bombay, under Grant, Bellasis, Clerk and Arthur 1849
Second Sikh war. 1849
System of bureacracy continues.
Dalhousie annexes eight states.
Railway line opened in Bombay and Calcutta 1853
Telegraph lines opened and postal system extended. P. and O. company's contract for carriage of mails to England in place of the Indian navy 1855
Improvements in England from 1808 to 1846
Chief events in France, Italy and Austria from 1830 to 1850
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Direct Rule of the East India Co. ceases 1858.

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I What the universities taught? Results–Religious activities–Work of the Bramho Samaj.

The civil marriage Act 1872. Its desirability for all classes of Hindus.

Another religious movement. The Arya-Samaj and Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Its doctrines.

II Intellectual activity. Growth of newspapers, magazines and works in vernaculars English or both–Establishment of literary and political societies.

III Works of several great scholars mentioned. Commencement of the practice of young men going to England to qualify for professions and service in India.

IV Employment of English-educated natives in Native states–Comparison of the career and emoluments of the three classes—

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VI Commercial ideas engage the attention of the people–protection and boycott. Introduction of machinery and steam power. Preachers of swadeshi—Ganesh Wasudeo and Ganesh Babajee

VII Famine 1876–77.

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VIII The Hindu theatre—Progress. Tranaslation of Shakespear's plays in Marathi–Operas composed by Anna-

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Mahomedan riots in Bombay against Parsees. 1874.

CHAPTER. IV 1880—1900.

R. C. Dutt's "India in the Victorian age" referred to. His opinion chiefly political. Congress activities chiefly economical. Dutt's statement of the evils of British administration and their remedies.

(1) Information about India's debt and Dutt's opinion about its reduction.

(2) Information about Land Revenue and Expenditure in the three years 1858-59, 76-77 and 1901-2 Welby commission-Poor results

(3) Permanent settlement of Land Revenue abandoned 1885.

(4) Cloth manufacture in India and legislation bearing on it.

Lord Lytton abolishes duties on all cotton goods which contain no yarn finer than 30s. Lord Ripon abolishes them on the remaining goods. In 1894 an advalorem duty of 5 p. c. was imposed on all cotton fabrics and yarns but a countervailing duty was imposed on Indian production. Cotton duties Act 1896. Mr. Dutta's remarks on it.

(5) Employment of Indians in administration Mr. Dutt omits Army. The question is however of great national importance. Self Government of Lord Ripon 1884
First Indian Congress 1885
Mr. Crawford's commission 1889
Religious activities

Swamis Nityanand and Vivekanand and others. Spread

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of Vedanta and other doctrines. Scientific progress all over the world. New machines and articles for social uses and weapons and chemicals for use in war. 1890

Simultaneous growth of political discontent, religious orthodoxy and Industrial ambition in India. 1895

Extracts fromMr. Ranade's Economical lectures 1890-92

Another beginning of bad times. Famine–, Plague–Harsh administration,

Industrial activity-Social manners and facts. Showing existence of religious orthodoxy in spite of foreign travel and social changes. "Being roused from the sleep of ages" Vedanta philosophy.

Income per head of population in India- Much lower than in other countries. What is it due to ?

Sir Richard Temple quoted to show the unprogressive character of the nation.

CHAPTER. V.

Close of the Boer war–Rise of the liberal Ministry in England. Boycott and swadeshi movements and bomb outrages—Repression. King's Visist 1911 Execellent conduct of the subjects. Reversal of the partition of Bengal. Change of seat of Government of India.

India not only religious but steeped in superstition and orthodoxy. Their relation to Industrial work and political interests.

REFORMS

(1) Linguistic division of India–Marathi, Gujarathi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Telgu, and Carnatic--One or two Provinces for each language according to area and population.

(2) Self-Government should be accompanied with power, responsibility and emoluments. Boards for disposal of

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civil, Revenue and judicial work can be constituted.

(3) European agency may be freely availed of—It should be only of men who have proved their fitness in service at home—Importation of youths should be entirely stopped—This Country can find any number of youths—No qualifying service Examination in England.

(4) European officers should work by themselves and not have any Native Assistants. The European's work should be his own. He should never sign drafts prepared in office. Every draft must be in his hand-writing. No examinations of offices should be conducted in his name by his clerks. Large reductions of establishments will thus take place.

(5) Retrenchments of work itself. Tours and visits should be for specified and certain duties or on applications. Present system of tests too superflous. Criminal work in courts should not be done twice over as at present. If it first goes to a magistrate he should dispose it of finally and if it is to go to a Sessions court it should go there direct without his intercession.

There should be only one record and not double as at present–One by officer and one by a clerk.

(6) Admission to army should not be based on race distinctions but on personal qualifications.

Every nation in India originally Martial--Jainism turned them away from Militarism and Vedanta made them indifferent to social work.

The above reforms all administrative. Mr. Dutt's Economical, Ranade's Industrial, Gokhale's Educational, Bhupendranath's and Hon. Dadabhoy's social.

Obstacles to progress.

Principles of isolation and exclusion have received

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indirect support from some European writers.

List of evils from British rule usually pointed out by orthodox classes.

Longer list of benefits pointed out by reformers.

Bulk of Indian population indifferent towards politics.

The number of reformers very small. Many divisions among them. No organization—No help from Govt. regularly asked—No hope of success unless a class of neo-Hindus to extend to all castes is formed with purifed Hindu legislature.

CHAPTER VI.

Statistics regarding debt, revenue, expenditure.

Export import trade for 1912-13. Population according to different religious beliefs.

Mr. Webb's opinions about Tariff reforms. quoted from Mr. Stanley Reed's year book for 1915.

Another quotation from the same showing earliest dates of settlement of non-Aryan religious people.

Mr. Reed's opinion regarding certain ideas of Hinduism.

Sir (Mr.) Lee Warner's opinion about caste influences

Quotation from great writers concerning the causes of India's political downfall.

Orme, Mill, Prof H. H. Wilson, Forbes, Nicols, and Paes.

Did backwardness in military art bring it about ?

Is climate responsible ? Were dissension and disunion the chief causes ?

Did prevalence of luxury undermine military spirit ?

Were asceticism and indolence responsible to any extent ?

Is progress from within possible in India ?

Examination of the doctrines of Geeta.

Imortality of soul.

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Transmigration,
Division of society into four classes
Position of women.
Liberation and Pessimism,

Direction to avoid the consequences of every act good or bad by consigning it to God prevails throughout the book. Praise of devotion–Its effects Ideas of Geeta on the whole lofty but not progressive. They seem to suit a stagnant and self contented people and not people possessed of a spirit of adventure enquiry and reform of a desire to promote scientific knowledge and human happiness.

Free criticism of old books not likely to find favour with orthodox classes.

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Chapter 1

The condition of India in 1757 is a matter of well-known history. There were four great political powers in the country then; Rajputs, Mahomedans, Marathas and Sikhs. A brief account of their rise seems necessary. The religion of the Rajputs is the old Hindu type. So is that of the Marathas. The Sikhs have introduced a sort of reform discarding idolatry. The Mahomedans belong to the well-known Islamic faith. The Rajputs are the oldest known ruling class of India. Col. Tod has the credit of having written, from old records, the best connected history of this race. Their principal states are Mewar, Marwar, Jaipur and Bikaneer. They trace their descent from the Mytho—heroic, Solar dynasty of Indian Kings.

Condition of India in 1757. Four great powers. Their religion

It is necessary to say what the old Hindu type of religion means. It had three phases—Vedik, Smritic and Puranik. When we attempt to give their periods we must remember that we are not dealing with ten but one hundred centuries and also to remember that Mythological beliefs still form a very integral part of Indian thought and writing. It must be clear therefore that the periods cannot be stated with anything like historical precision.

Three periods of Hindu religion

The Indian and European view of the time of writing of the chief Books of Hindus is shown below.

View of writing of chief books, European and Indian view.

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Name of book.	Indian view of time.	European view of time.
Vedas	10,000 to 5000 B. C.	2000 B. C.
Bramhanas	3000 "	1500 "
Upanishads	"	"
Sutras and Smritis ...	2000 "	1000 "
Darshanas Grammar, works on medicine and Astronomy.	1500 "	800 "
Ramayana and Mahabharata. ...	1500 "	800 "
Buddhistic Books	500 B.C. to 300 A. D.	500 B. C. 300 A. D.
Puranas, Novels, Dramas and poems.	100 to 1100 A. D.	100 to 1100 A. D.
Commentaries, Abridgements & Extensions based on old Books and some new works.	11th to 19th century	11 to 19th century.

Character of the religion of the three periods

The Vedic religion consists of prayers and ceremonies chiefly sacrificial and refers to nomadic life and early settlements. The Smritic religion refers to a perfectly well-ordered society prescribing duties of students, householders, their wives, kings and subjects. The Purana religion consists of idol worship, dependence on God for every thing, exaltation of faith fasting and prayer and a theory of continuity of individual human life based on quality of actions.

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Relation between upanishadas and duties of life.

The upanishadas which came after the vedas and their commentaries are the first attempt to define duties of life, praise virtue and grasp the nature of soul. They are in the form of dialogues, less archaic in style than their predecessors and therefore better comprehensible. The Darshanas are in the form of aphorisms. They are far more systematic and entirely free from archaism. Complete systems of reasoning, ingenious and useful rules of interpretation have been devised and explained--nearly every subject of physics, metaphysics and ethics has been discussed such as heat, light and electricity, soul, heaven and God, duty, love and hate. The discussion of physics is necessarily elementary but in metaphysics and ethics the highest planes of thought have been reached. In purity and conciseness of language they will evoke admiration in all ages. The Dharma sutras and smritis began to be composed at this time and the formation of caste-system begins. The epic period of Ramayana and Mahabharat heroes comes to end. About a thousand years pass under the successors of Rama, Krishna and Yudhisthir. Buddha's religion rises in the fifth century B. C. Its predominant note was peace but it is not given to man to live in peace unless he prepares himself for war. Militarism came, in course of time, to occupy second rank. Puranas began to be composed. A revival of the old religion took place and Buddhism was chased out of India as a civil power. Its principles have been thoroughly embodied in the Puranas and not only Jains but Brahmins and Vaishyas in certain parts of India follow them.

Mr. R. C. Dutt's views on Budhism will be found from the following quotations which are from his able and

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valuable History of ancient civilization of India.

Vol. I Page 19—" Gautama Buddha added to the cold logic of the Sankhya philosophy a world-embracing sympathy and love for mankind which has made his religion the religion of a third of the human race."

From three hundred B. C. to four hundred A. D. India was in the hands of the Mourya and Andhra Kings but " It was the scene of continual foreign invasions. " The Greeks of Bactria, the Turanians, Cambojians and white Huns all poured into India. " India had no rest from foreign invasions for six or seven centuries after the time of Asoka the Great but the invaders as they finally settled down in India adopted the Buddhist religion and formed a part of the people. " I do not think this could be true of all the invaders. Although Islam faith had not risen, there were three old religions–Egyptian, Jewish and Christian and these all could not have succumbed to Buddhism.

On page 24 this great gifted Bengali writer says " Buddist monks formed a vast and unmanageable body of idle priesthood owning vast acres of land attached to each monastery and feeding on the resources of the people. "

On page 181 of the second volume he says " It would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary he believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of religion which had prevailed among Hindus, Brahmins, Sramans and others but which had been corrupted at a later day. "

On Page 230 of the second volume the essence of

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Buddhistic doctrines has been given as a system of self—culture and self—restraint and mention has been made of four truths and eightfold path. On page 232 " The substance of this teaching is that life is suffering, the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering the extinction of that thirst is the cessation of that suffering and that such extinction can be brought about by a holy life. It is impossible to convey in a few words all that is implied by the eight maxims into which a holy life has been analysed but to Buddhists trained in the tradition of the Law, these maxims speak volumes. Correct views and beliefs must be learnt and entertained, high aims and aspirations must always remain present before the mind's eye; truthfulness and gentleness must characterize every word that is uttered; uprightness and absolute integrity must mark the conduct. A livelihood must be sought and adhered to which does no harm to living and sentient beings; there must be a life-long perseverance in doing good, in acts of kindness and beneficence; the mind, the intellect must be watchful; a calm and tranquil meditation shall fill the life with peace. This is the eightfold path for conquering desires and passions and thirst for life. A more beautiful picture was never conceived by poet or visionary and a more perfect system of self-culture was never proclaimed by philosopher or saint."

On page 237 " Gautama did not believe in the existence of a soul but nevertheless the theory of transmigration of soul was too deeply implanted in the Hindu mind to be eradicated and Gautama therefore adhered to the theory of transmigration without accepting that of a soul. ' This looks quite contradictory in itself. If there is no soul there remains no subject for transmigration.

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On Page 248 " Having left son and wife, father and mother, wealth and corn and relatives, the different objects of desire, let me wander alone like a rhinoceros. "

" This is a tie, in this there is little happiness, little enjoyment but union of pain; this is a fish hook, so having understood let a thoughtful man wander alone like a rhinoceros.

" Having torn the ties—having broken the net as a fish in the water like a fire not returning to the burnt place, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros.

Khagga Visana Sutta."

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama positively enjoined on all men to retire from the world and live the life of a recluse × × but nevertheless × × Gautama recommended the life of a Bhikkshu as the more efficacious means of securing the great end. And so thousands retired from the world and became Bhikkshus and the Buddhist monastic system was formed. "

On page 264 an exhaustive category of the duties of a householder is given divided into six parts. (1) Parents and children, (2) Pupils and teachers (3) Husband and wife (4) Friends and companions (5) Masters and servants (6) Laymen and ecclesiastics from Sigalovada Sutta.

From the brief extracts given above for the information of my readers it will be clear that Buddha's work was incomparable as a moral teacher but it did not give chief place to Military power which is the foundation and support of honourable and peaceful life and from the eigth century its influence declined rapidly. In place of toleration and rivalry between Buddhism and Hinduism there now came violence and persecution against the

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former (page 227 of vol. VI). By the middle of the 10th century Buddhism became pactically extinct (page233) in India and the absolute supremacy of Pauranik Hinduism was established by the Rajputs. Some authors trace Rajputs to Scythian descent. " Dr. H. H. Wilson and others have held that they were the descendants of the Sakas and other invaders who swarmed into India for centuries before the time of Vikramaditya. × × Dark hints are thrown out in the Puranas to indicate that the Rajputs were new comers " (page 235). Col. Tod says " The Rajputs could scarcely have acquired some of their still existing Scythic habits and warlike superstitions on the burning plains of Ind (page 26 Vol. I of Ambika Charan ukils Library-Edition of Rajasthan) and he thinks both Rama and Krishna were descended from ancestors who originally belonged to Scythia or Saka Dwipa (page 46 Vol. I Rajasthan).

From the 11th century India was regularly invaded by Mahomedans They brought in a fierce new form of religion. Some invaders simply plundered, massacred and went back. Others established kingdoms and became part of the permanent population. Of the first kind were Mahomed Gazni, Tamurlane and Nadir Shah; of the second kind were Mahomed Ghori, Alaudin Khilji and Babar (Tartar and Mogul). Mahomed Ghori conquered Northern India and drove the Rajputs of Kanoj to Marwar (1194). Alaudin conquered Guzerat and the Deccan (easten part) 1294--1316. His slave Malik Kafir went victorious through Telingana and Karnatic upto Rameshwaram but within about a century and thirty years that is by 1450 A. D. " This extensive kingdom was so broken up by misrule of its emperors and consequent revolts of

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its subjects that at the end of the Sayad dynasty all that remained of it was the town of Delhi and a few miles of territory around it." (Sinclair's History of India). With Babar Mahomedan rule at Delhi enters on a new lease (1526). It was again broken up in 1707 with the death of Aurangzeb and afterwards there were only puppets on the throne. There were now many independent Mahomedan kingdoms which formerly owned the supremacy of the emperor of Delhi. Bengal, Orrisa and Behar were under Alivardy Khan a Tartar, Oudh was under a Vizir, Rohil Khand was under Mahamad Ali an Afgan, Punjab had been surrendered to Ahamed Shah, Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmednagar, Bidar and Berar belonged to separate dynasties formed out of the old Bahamani Kingdom of Hasan Gangu and Malva, Guzerat and Carnatic were also under separate rulers.

Of Mahomed the founder of the mahomedan religion Mr. Elphinstone gives the following account—"Though born of the head family of one of the branches of the tribe of Koreish he appears to have been poor in his youth and is said to have accompanied his uncle's camels in some of those long trading journeys which the simplicity and equality of Arab manners made laborious even to the wealthy."

"A rich marriage early raised him to independence and left him to pursue those occupations which were congenial to his mind." He declared to his wife and other relatives that he had been commanded by God to preach a pure form of religion in the place of idolatry and worship of stars which then prevailed in Arabia. The rulers of Mecca determined on his death when Mohamed was in his 53rd year (A. D. 622). He fled to Medina and in ten years he had brought all

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Arabia under his obedience and had commenced an attack on the dominions of the Roman Emperor.

It was not to a warlike spirit alone that he was indebted for his popularity. He was a reformer as well as a conqueror. His religion was founded on the sublime theory of the old Testament and however his morality may appear to modern Christians, it was pure as compared with the contemporary practice of Arabia.

"The circumstances both political and religious of the neighbouring countries were such as to encourage the warmest hopes of these fanatical adventurers.

"The Roman Empire was broken and dismembered by Barbarians and Christianity was degraded by corruptions and weakened by controversies of irreconciliable sects. Persia was sinking in the last stage of internal decay × × In this last country at least the religion of the Arabs must have contributed as much to their success as their arms.

"Mahomed's attack on the Roman empire was in the direction of Syria and within six years after his death (638 A. D.) that province and Egypt had been subdued by his successors. Roman Africa and Spain followed in succession and within a century from the death of their founder the Mohomedans had pushed the conquests into the heart of France."

In India Sind fell first to the Mahomedans in the seventh century. It was then under Raja Dahir and Multan fell afterwards which was under the same prince but the progress of the Mahomedan arms was slow for more than two centuries afterwards.

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Rise of the Silks

We now come to the other two powers, the Sikhs and Marathas. Mahomedan persecution may be regarded as their parent. Nanak Shah began to preach in 1490 or about thirty six years before Babar's success at Panipat. He was succeeded by nine teachers. The third was murdered or put to death by order of the Mahomedan Government (1606). "This act of tyranny changed the Sikhs from inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors" (Elphinstone page 678). Their ninth teacher also fell a victim to Mahomedan persecution and the tenth Guru Govind recoginsed the necessity of increasing their numbers in order to oppose the Mahomedan power. Mr. Elphinstone says "He abolished all distinctions of caste among its members admitting all converts whether Mahomedan, Hindu, Brahmin or Chandala to a perfect equality while to preserve its unity he instituted a peculiar dress and peculiar manners by which the followers were to be distinguished from all the rest of mankind. Each was to be a vowed soldier from his birth or initiation, was always to carry steal in some form above his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow and neither to clip nor remove the hairs on any other part of his body.

"Reverence for Hindu Gods and respect for Brahmins were maintained and the slaughter of kine was most positively forbidden; but all other prohibitions relating to food and liquors were abolished; the usual forms of worship were laid aside; new modes of salutation and new ceremonies on the principal events of life were introduced."

After 1738 they were rulers of Punjab and Cashmire. Their fall in 1849 like that of the Brahmin court of

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Poona in 1818, was the result of internal quarrels and bad faith with the English. The last power to be noticed is that of the Marathas. Their literature begins from Mukundraj but Namdeo and Jnaneshwar are better known. They belong to the close of the 13th century. The independent political significance of the Marathas may be said to commence from Sivaji's time (1640) who may well be compared to Alfred the Great. Jnaneshwar might be compared to Chaucer. Sivaji saved the Deccan from Moghal supremacy and Jnaneshwar gave form to Marathi language. Some people regard him (Janeshwar) as the Wicklif of Maharashtra but he did not possess the faculty of religious reform which Wicklif possessed. His great work is merely a learned and voluminous commentary on the Bhagawat Gita. There is not the faintest trace in it of any attempt to reduce the tyranny of the ecclesiastical class or to alter the views and beliefs of the Puranic religion or to rationalize the mind and wean it from orthodoxy. He cannot therefore be called the father of reformation which, indeed, cannot be said to have begun even to this day except among the Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Brahmos and Aryas but he may be called the father of literature. His work deals only in explanations of religious doctrines and therefore does not display that variety of descriptions which it would otherwise have done but the richness of explanations make a fair title to linguistic paternity. The same thing is to be said of other saints. They have enriched vernacular languages but have not seriously preached reform. In Mr. Mill's language used about ancient Hindu laws, these saints, too, have in moments of hyperbolical

Rise of Marathas-Marathi writers

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praise talked as if they were reformers but the general tenour of their writings is orthodox and submissive.

Sivaji's son Sambhajee was undoing all his father's work. His capture and execution (1689) by Aurangzeb though personally lamentable came as blessings in disguise to the national cause. Aurangzeb's death (1707), Shahu's succession (1708) and Balaji Vishwanath's appointment as Peshwa or chief Minister meant resurrection of Sivaji's time and spirit. The succession of Bajirao and his son Balaji means much more. If at the end of Shivaji's career (1680) his sway extended over the Concan, Desh and the Carnatic, in Balaji's time (1760) Maratha rule extended directly or through levy of chouth and other tributes over the whole of India. Hence it is that Dr. Hunter, unlike less informed writers, says "The British won India not from the Moguls but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mogul empire had broken up. Our final wars were neither with the Dehli King nor with his revolted Governors but with the two Hindu confederacies –the Marathas and the Sikhs. Our last Maratha war dates as late as 1818 and the Sikh Confederation was overcome only in 1848." This description leaves out the Rajput and Mahomedan powers not because they did not exist but because there was no fighting with them worth the name.

The above sketch gives a fair idea of the four political powers that existed in India in 1757 besides the English. Reference has been made to the character of the Purana religion but it is necessary to refer to it in greater detail as all the seeds of national decay are to be found in it. It has been stated that Buddhism was chased out as a civil and religious power. Its prin-

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ciples were embodied in the Puranas and continued under another name. They introduced idol-worship or extended it They did the same thing with regard to incarnation. Kumarila Bhatta and Shankaracharya who were great opponents of Buddhism spread what is known as Advaita or Pantheistic philosophy or Idealistic monism but they did not oppose either idol--worship or incarnation theory of the Gita or Puranas. Shankaracharya is well-known for his able commentaries on the Uttar Mimansa and the Gita but he was himself a devoted worshipper of Siva. His principal place is at Shringeri in the Mysore state where his disciples have succeeded him to this day. His representative enjoys civic honours in the state equal to those of the Maharaja and the Monastery has a large revenue in lands and presents. It has branches all over India. This temple and Monastery are only an instance of thousands of temples like it in India. The grants and presents of Vaishnava temples far exceed those of Siva's. There are many again for Kali or Durga and many besides for other deities. Another favourite deity of a somewhat recent date is Datta Guru and another still more recent is Satya Narayana. The Bengali Chronicler of ancient civilization in India says " With the rise of the Rajput power in India new temples multiplied in every capital town and busy mart. Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstition of the populace; poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture and music lent their aid and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on those gorgeous edifices and ceremonials which were the outward manifestations of the peoples' unlimited devotion and faith. Pilgrimages which

Changes after Buddhism

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were rare or unknown in ancient times were organized on a stupendous scale; gifts in lands and money poured in from such devotees for the support of temples and religion itself gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their lucky custodians. ' × × Millions " mistook blind obedience and gifts to priests for religion. "

Ramanuja appeared in the 11th century, also in the Southern India. He was however a worshipper of Rama. His creed is slightly different from that of Shankaracharya. Both worshipped personal deities. One rose to pure pantheism or Idealistic monism and the other (Ramanuja) refused to do so in abstract thought.

In the 12th century comes Hemachandra the greatest Jain writer .Madhva comes in the 13th, Ramanand in the 14th and Chaitanya and Wallabha in the beginning of the 16th. Tulsidas and Kabir lived in the 17th. These are only stars of the first magnitude in the religious firmament. Of minor stars there can, probably, be no computation.

Jnaneshwar and Namdeo have already been mentioned in the Deccan. Tukaram comes in the 16th century. Ramdas, Mukteshwar, Waman and Shridhar come in the 17th century and Moropant in the 18th century. The verses written by each are to be counted by thousands if not hundreds of thousands. None of these men taught anything heretical. None entertained the slightest idea of religious or social reform. Whether in the north or south, east or the west of India these religious writers strictly adhered to the old doctrines and wrote in Sanskrit or their own vernacular language in support of old forms of worship and rites, caste system and even sati. There

Huge mass of high class writing but all unprogressive

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was no Hume to write on rational basis and no Locke to advance a fresh theory of human understanding, no Copernicus, Galileo or Roger Bacon, no Harvey and no Newton to find out new truths in science, no Voltaire or Paine to speak of freedom or rights of man. There are as many writers in sciences, logic, philosophy, Grammar, dictionaries, rhetoric, music, novel, drama and poetry as there are in purely religious and moral subjects. But the inventive turn of the Western world during the last three centuries was not to be found in them. The intellect of the writers moves in old grooves abridging or enlarging what has been previonsly written, exhibiting wonderful excellence of language, grasp of subject, versatility and richness of illustration. There exsist about half a century of books on each subject. They have so captivated the Indian mind that very few are, even at this day, to be found willing to admire Western philosophy or progress in sciences. It was this unmeasured reverence for old beliefs and explanations that meant stagnation or stunted growth. The talented Bengali Historian of " ancient civilization of India " whom I have already referred to more than once has given in his scholarly work substance of seventeen Smrities or Dharma Shastras and eighteen Puranas from a Bengali writer Mr. Sarbadikari's translation of Smritis and Dr. H. H. Wilson's translation of Vishnu Purana and its preface. There are many other Smrities and eighteen Upa-Puranas. Dr. Wilson has given substance of the Upa-Puranas also in his able preface to his Book. Substance of works on Medicine, astronomy, poetry, drama, etc. will also be found in the " Ancient civilization. " In chapter X which is devoted to " Medicine " Mr. Dutt shows on the authority of Dr. Royle's

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essay and Dr. Wise's review of the History of Medicine that the first system of Medicine belongs to the Hindus. Some account of the earliest extant work is given viz. Charak. This has been assigned to the 6th century A. D. The account is based on Dr. Wilson's analysis who puts a question as to the causes of the disappearance of Surgery from Hindoos and "Ancient civilization" says "The causes are the same which have led to the disappearance or at least the decline of all sciences, all arts, all literature in India during the past thousand years. Social and religious degeneracy paved the way to ruin and political disaster completed it. The causes have acted and re-acted on each other and the loss of political independence induced a grosse national ignorance, an unhealthier superstition and a more hurtful system of social rules."

It is not true that there has been no literature (etc) during the past thousand years. Both in sanskrit and Vernaculars there have been simply mountains of books written in spite of Mahomedan conquests, changes of dynasties, political and social unhappiness. Mr. Dutt has himself on page 270 Vol. III, acknowledged the extraordinary literary capacity of Madhav otherwise called Sayana prime minister of the king of Vijayanagar in the 14th century observing "And to Sayana we owe the series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law and grammar which are to this day considered authoritative in all parts of India." Hemadri was another writer of eminence. He was Minister of Ramdeo King of Deogiri and wrote on Law, Literature, Medicine and other subjects at the close of the thirteenth century. Kalhana writer of Rajtarangini lived in the 12th century. Mammata and Kaiyata belong to the

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13th century. Annambhatta belongs to the 13th century. Jagganath Raya belongs to the 16th century. From Ramanuja and Madhva to Appaya Dikshit and Venkatadhvari hundreds of men may be named as writers of eminence in Sanskrit alone but if vernaculars are included there may be as many others who have enriched the literature arts and sciences by their writings.

Relation between Europe and Asia.

Let us now turn to the English and understand their position in 1757. They belonged to a different continent, Although there can be no doubt that they belong to the same stock from which the Persians and Hindus are descended, the time of their separation was so great (about 50 centuries) that when they met again they appeared complete strangers to each other. It was after a century of years of acquaintance and study of each other's history and literature that the sensible portion of the two nations has realized the common ground between the two. During this long separation not only did the languages become diffrent but religious and social political life also.

Howsoever different the languages may appear at this day (Sanskrit, Latin, English, Marathi or other Indian dialect) etymology and grammar have brought out so many points of similarities that no careful student, for a moment can entertain the slightest doubt about their common origin. This would perhaps sound too abstract without specimens. The following may suffice.

	Latin	Sanskrit	English	Marathi
Noun	Pater	Pitri	Father	Bapa
	Dies	Dius	day	Diwas
Pronoun	Tu	Tvam	Thou	Tu

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Adj.	Novus	Navam	New	Nawin
Verb	Est	Asti	Is	Se, Ahe
Adverb	Tum	Tada	Then	Tava, Tenva
Prep.	Intro	Antar	Into	Ant
Conjunc.	Et	Uta	And	Ani
Interjec.	Ha	Ha	Ha	Ha

A thousand examples can be given to show agreement between either of the two languages Latin or English and either of the two Sanskrit and Marathi. The rules of inflection and conjuntion also show points of similarity. No one having even a smattering of acquaintance with these languages can deny that they belong to a common paternal stock.

As early as 1840 Prof. H. H. Wilson wrote in the preface to his Vishnu Purana (translation) " The affinity of the Sanskrit language proves a common origin of the now widely scattered nations amongst whose dialects they are traceable and render it unquestionable that they must have all spread abroad from some centrical spot in that part of the globe first inhabited by mankind according to the inspired record".

Mr. Dutt in the preface to his first volume of Ancient civilization says " And the industry, perseverance and genius of men like Bopp, Grimm and Humboldt soon achieved a result which ranks as one of the noblest and most brilliant discoveries of the country. They marked and traced the connection among all the Indo-European languages—the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, the Latin the Slav, the Teuton and the Celtic; they demonstrated all these languages to be the offshoots of the same original stock and they even discovered laws under which words were transformed in passing from one language to another. "

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As soon however, as we pass this old common ground nothing remains common. The points of diversity far out-number those of similarity and as two brothers born of the same parents undoubtedly exhibit many points of resemblance but show far greater points of contrast it is even so with these European and Asiatic nations.

There is much similarity (in forms of worship) between the Roman catholic and Hindu ceremonies. The Brahmo and Arya Samaj followers have adopted the protestant form of prayer but the old Hindus have not. The history of the two continents in the development of poliical and social life presents many points of contrast in later stages.

The Roman and Grecian Mythical and heroic accounts of Gods, goddesses and inferior deities of their valour, courtship and vengeance are like those of India in several respects but as soon as you get to their historical period you find everything different—forms of Government rules of marriage and inheritance, relations between different classes of people. The great governments of Greece and Rome were republican–In India from Rama, Krishna and Yudhishthir down to Porus, Vikramaditya and Shalivahana there is nothing but pure monarchy.

The ecclesiastical classes in Europe seized civil and poliitical power with great ardour and never parted with it except by force. In India, as a rule, they strictly confined themselves to their own sphere. They wrote on every subject, physical and moral sciences, theology, aesthetics, politics and war but they never ruled any territory as kings. If Parshuram fought with the Kshatriyas it was with the definite purpose of bringing them back to a sense of their duties and teaching them to leave

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over-luxurious habits. If Peshwas acted for the Satara Rajas it was because they found Shahu's successors too young and weak to direct affairs themselves. They never left their title of ministers and never assumed that of King.

Col. Tod has shown that the European feudal system and the martial system of Rajasthan are analogous: He refers to the (1) Custom of banners as emblems of sovereignity over vassals. (2) Divisions of chiefs into grades. (3) Rights of crown to levy war tax, house—tax, plough tax, marriage tax, and others (4) Legislative authority of the prince over his vassals (5) Obligation to render military service (6) Feudal incidents such as relief, fines, wardship and marriage (7) Servitude, private feuds and composition (8) adoption and observes " The system of feuds must have attained considerable maturity to have left such traces notwithstanding the desolation that has swept the land ". His treatment of the subject extends over some ninety pages. I have only noted the points of analogy. The following quotation may suffice as an example of the services " In Mewar during the days of her glory and prosperity fifteen thouand horse bound by the ties of fidelity and service followed their prince into the field all supported by lands held by grant, from the chief who headed five hundred of his own vassals to the single horseman. "

In Europe there is no caste system as in India. Even in other Asiatic countries it does not exist. What is the nature of this caste system which is the special gift or misfortune of India ? The answer will be found below.

Religious restrictions on freedom of marriage for preserving racial purity or religion obtain more or less in all countries.

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Prudential restrictions where language and manners of the parties to a marriage differ, also are to be found in all countries.

In India, however, where men of the same race began to follow different professions each class created monopolies through jealousy, competition. narrow-mindedness or bad example and formed separate castes. Brahmins keft learning and religious work exclusively to themselves, Kshatriyas kept arms exclusively to them; Vaishyas and Sudras followed the example and every profession became a caste further subdivided by languages, countries and manners.

Some castes, no doubt, were created by intermixture of primary castes and their sub-divisions as stated by Manu and Yajnavalkya; but some of these-castes are only aboriginal races as remarked by Mr. Dutt and not the result of intermixture.

Another feature of the caste system of India is that it does not stop with restrictions on marriage but descends to prohibit (1) The taking of food prepared, served or touched by certain classes; (2) The touch of certain classes; (3) The presence of certain classes. Manu and Yajnavalkya have also treated foreigners as separate castes such as Yavanas, Shakas, Parsis, Chinese etc.

We have thus castes under five heads.

(1) Primary castes.
(2) Castes by intermixture.
(3) Castes by Profession.
(4) Castes of Aboriginal races.
(5) Castes of foreigners.

Those under the first three heads are further subdivided by differences of language, country and manners. There are so many languages in India and so many

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provinces that the number of sub-divisions can easily be imagined. Manners also vary greatly. If the case of head-dress were alone considered we shall find two dozen* types in the Bombay Presidency alone. In other parts of dress there is the same though somewhat less variety. Differences of language, country and manners all help to keep alive differences of castes where they have once arisen. In this way we have a divided society in India not only vertically and horizantally but transversely and by curves.

Rigid exclusion of meat and liquour has also helped in accentuating differences and has engendered pride, bitterness and animosities. The history of social life in India shows that meat and liquors were favourite and honoured articles till twenty-five centuries ago even among Brahmins. Even now they are favourite and honoured among Kshtriyas and Sudras generally and among certain classes of Vaishyas and Brahmins. The Smritis and Puranas reserved meat for sacrifices and obsequial ceremonies but during the last ten centuries it lost its place in the latter. Animals are still killed in certain sacrifices but their number is very small and, when possible, imitations of animals made of flour are substituted for slaughter as compliance with the text.

The following quotations will show what the practice was in India's early days.

"In a larger and more important ceremonial like the Ashwamedha no less than 180 domestic animals including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer etc., were sacrificed. The same † Brahmana lays down instructions for carving and Gopatha Brahmana tells us who received the different portions. The priests got the tongue, the neck, the

* See forms given on next page.

† The Black Yajurveda.

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1 Sindhi Taipuri

2 Sindhi Patka

3 Amil's Cap

4 Katchhi Patka

5 Kathiawar Turban

6 Patanpuri Turban

7 Ahmedabad Turban

8 Broach Turban

9 Surti Turban

10 Bhori's Turban

11 Parsee Turban

12 Parsee II

CSP

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13 Bhatya

14 Bhatya II

15 Bhavnagari Turban

16 Poona

17 Rumal

18 Maratta

19 Mahratta II

20 Mahratta III

21 Indore

22 Baroda

23 Hyderabad

24 Kanrees

C.S.P

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shoulder, the rump, the legs etc., while the master of the house (wisely) appropriated to himself the sirloin × × Plentiful libations of the Soma beer were allowed to wash down the meat." Page 253 Vol. I R. C. Dutt's Ancient History of livilization in India..

Manu's Dharma Sutra quoted by Vashistha says that a full-grown ox or goat may be cooked for a Brahmana or Kshtriya guest and hospitality offered Page 105 Vol. II of the same history.

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra has written a paper on Beef in Ancient India and this has been referred to by Mr. Dutt on page 106 vol. II of his book.

One of Asoka's edicts says that he was using meat every day but that he was going to give it up and that therefore his subjects should also follow him. If thus appears that from daily use meat was, in course of time, used for sacrifices, obsequial ceremony and guests only and then after some time more discarded altogether by certain people.

Now I shall proceed to another point of difference in the state of Europe and India leaving that of caste which may be considered as fairly explained and this point is of marriage. Christianity insists on Monogamy as the universal rule of domestic life. In India with Kshatriya Kings polygamy with very rare exceptions was the rule of life and Sudras and Kshatriyas followed it but Brahmins, with rare exceptions, did not practice polygamy except for barren-ness or other equally sound excuse.

When land did not belong to feudal chiefs it belonged to the cultivator and not to the king who was entitled to a sixth part of the gross produce.

Mr. Dutt quotes the case of a gambler in Mrichakatik

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and Harischandra's account of his own sale to argue the existence of slavery in India but Manu and Yajnavalkya do not refer to the institution. Mr. Mill in his great work observes " As much as the Brahmin is an object of veneration so much is the Sudra the object of contempt. " Mr. Wilson says on this " The condition of a sudra in the Hindu system was infinitely preferable to that of a Helot slave or serf of the Grecian, Roman or feudal systems. He had rights, freedom and priveleges much beyond any other servile classes of antiquity. " Page 194 Mill's history of India. Mr. Elphinstone in his history says " Domestic slaves are treated exactly like servants except that they are more regarded as belonging to the family. I doubt if they are ever sold and they attract little observation as there is nothing apparent to distinguish them from freemen. " page 203. Again in Appendix III Page 261. " Arrian mentions with admiration that every Indian is free, with them as with the Lacedemonians no nation can be a slave but unlike the Lacedemonians doubts the absence of slavery as applying to all India confines his examples of the contrary to domestic slaves. "

From the opinions above given, texts of ancient Hindu Law and traces of custom observable in society it will be clear that slavery was never a regular institution in India as in Europe. It may have been true of domestic servants in certain parts of India and certain centuries. The cultivators were a perfectly free class generally. In fact it was the third recognized Aryan caste Vaishyas. In Europe serf-dom prevailed more generally. Land belonged to Lords, Counts, Dukes and Landlords under various other names who took rent. This left the tenants poor. More attention was coresequently paid to commerce, navigation arts and sciences.

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The existence of village communities in India is another point of contrast between India and Europe.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's view quoted in Elphinstone (Page 68) is as follows. " The village communities are little republics having everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations They seem to last when nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds to revolution Hindu, Pathan, Moghul, Maratha, Sikh English are all masters in turn but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the country, the village communities collect their cattle within their walls and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastatiou be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible they flee to friendly villages at a distance but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupation. If a country remain the scene of continued pillage and massacre so that the village can not be inhabited the scattered villagers, nevertheless return when ever the power of peacable possession revives. × × This union of the village communities each one forming a separate little state in itself has I conceive contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom or independence. " I have omitted a part which did not appear very necessary. Mr. Elphinstone then goes on to give his own account which is as follows.

" A township in its simplest form is under a Head

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man. The office has now become hereditary. He holds a portion of land and receives an annual allowance from Government: but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers." This is not true now as no fees are paid. "The head-man settles with the Government the sum to be paid to it for the year and apportions the payment among the villagers according to the extent and tenures of their lands.

"The Headman is assisted by different officers of whom the Accountant and the watchman are the most important. He keeps records and accounts of the village community both with the Government and with each other. He acts as notary in drawing up deeds. He is paid by fees on inhabitants and sometimes has an allowance or an assignment of land from government" This part about fees is also not true now except as private arrangement but was true in 1757.

"The money changer may also be considered as an assistant of the head man as one of his duties is to assay money paid. He is also the silver-smith of the village. Besides these there are other village officers the number of which is fixed by native name and common opinion at twelve but it varies in different villages.

"The priest and the astrologer, the smith, carpenter, barber, potter and worker in leather are seldom wanting. The tailor, washerman, physician, musician minstrel and some others are not so general", "The minstrel is a genealogist Each of these village officers and artisans has a fee sometimes in money more frequently a portion of the produce as a handful or two out of each measure of grain" The above quotations have been abbreviated for the

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sake of avoiding tediousness and as my object is not to give full information but to indicate points of contrast.

Till the 13th or 14th century India was in advance of Europe but at the end of the 15th century India began to lag behind. The baronial council developed into parliament in 1275 in England and compelled kings to acknowledge the supremacy of the nation over them. America was discovered, crusades were finished and reformation in religion began in earnest. Greek and Latin languages began to be studied and works in them translated into modern tongues. The number of universities began to increase. The discovery of gun-powder was an important agent of change in the art of war as that of printing was in literature. This change from mediæval to modern Europe has been described by A. D. Innes in his History of the British Empire as one of enlargements of horizons. He says "The mediæval world, the world known to christendom was geographically a very restricted world corresponding almost with precision to the empire over which Rome had once held sway with the additions of the regions between the Baltic and the Danube. All that lay eastward beyond the Euphratis was a land of myths and marvels no less than in the days of Herodotus. × × × It was not known that the known world was only a corner of the globe hardly more than one eighth the surface of one hemisphere but in the modern world the whole globe was recognized as navigable and brought within the range of investigation."

"Equally emphatic is the extension of the intellectual horizon. For ten centuries the church set limits to enquiry. Its dogmas were not to be challenged and no speculation might

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be indulged in which did not start from the acceptance of its pronounced dogmas or axiomatic truths. Speculation was dangerous if it traversed even such popular perversions of those dogmas as ecclesiastical authority found it convenient to endorse. The investigation of Nature, the attempt to acquire control over her energies was virtually prohibited by the condition that such a control could be obtained only by traffic with the Prince of Darkness, Nature could be controlled only by the supernatural. The constant intervention of supernatural powers was a part of the orthodox theological creed × × × The search after knowledge was in effect prohibited when the attainment of it involved punishment for practising magic.

" But to the modern mind the mastery over nature, the power of appropriating her energies to the use of man, the persistent exemplification by experiment of the unfailing operation of law, the progressive formulation of laws are objects of human endeavour not only permissible but in fact imperative. Under mediæval conditions if fact came in collision with the current interpretation of theology it was so much the worse for facts In the modern view the facts stand immutable and it is the current theology which must be modified that is to say the intellectual horizon of the middle ages was bounded by the current theology the modern intellect recognizes no limit unless it be that of the material universe ". He says in religion also every individual has liberty to choose his own horizon now, the right to make this choice was vetoed by the mediæval system.

The question of reformation was settled in England in the sixteenth century and the protestant religion became the

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religion of the state. The seventeenth century settled clearly the authority of the Parliament over the King and ministers chosen by the King became the real rulers. The execution of Charles I, the republic, the restoration and lastly the revolution were such important events that serious quarrels between Kings and parliament were for the future laid at rest. If we now compare the state of India with that of England i. e. at the end of the seventeenth century the former will be found to have been left far behind in literature, science, practical human sympathy politics and the art of war. It was in this century that the English East India Co. settled at Armagaon near Nellore (1628) and Fort St. George near old Madras and Fort st. David near Pondicherry (1654) at Surat and Bombay in 1627 and 1668 respectively and Fort st. William near old Calcutta, in 1698. The English found no cause till 1748 to engage in war with any of the powers in India but in that year they gained Devikotah from the Rajah of Tanjore. From 1757 commences Clive's brilliant career. His strategic move on Arcot for the relief of Trichinopoly, his success at Arni and Shrirangam and his capture of Covelaung and Chingaliput made the English as great if not greater than the French in Southern India. In 1756 the English in Europe and America suffered reverses in their wars with the French and their people in Calcutta were turned out by Suraj-u-dowlah. An English statesman exclaimed in despair that the English were no longer a nation but soon in 1757 everything turned in their favour. The first Pitt became minister in England, Clive won the field of Plassey, Frederick the Great crushed the French, Germans and Austrians with England's support in men and money

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in Europe, and Wolfe, Amherst and Howe gained successes in America. Here we see Providence aiding human effort. In the next chapter we shall see further evidence of it and India going down as fast as a sinking ship. Was Providence against it or was the country going to be delivered into powerful and safe hands and the ship brought into harbour for repairs ? There could be no doubt of its having become quite un-sea-worthy. The crew were fighting among themselves. There were pirates on Board. More than one man were trying to become captains. There were leaks in different places, machines had become old and new coal and steam were required. At first the object of those who came to save was not believed. They were treated as if they were pirates, and none else, but, step by step, every one of the crew and the passengers admitted the truth of their professions. We shall take a rapid view of those steps in the next chapter and then proceed to see what repairs have been done and what yet remains to make the ship sea-worthy again.

CHAPTER II.

(1758–1858)

There is no comparison between the Mahomedan expeditions into and conquests of India and the English supremacy. This truth will be clear at the end of the present chapter, when we shall have viewed the events of the next hundred years during which the states and people of India came into closer and closer contact of this long separated nation. Gradually they recognized in them their old brethren and friends; language religion and philosophy came forward to give evidence about this fact. European savants acknowledged how much Europe was in debt to India for the development of

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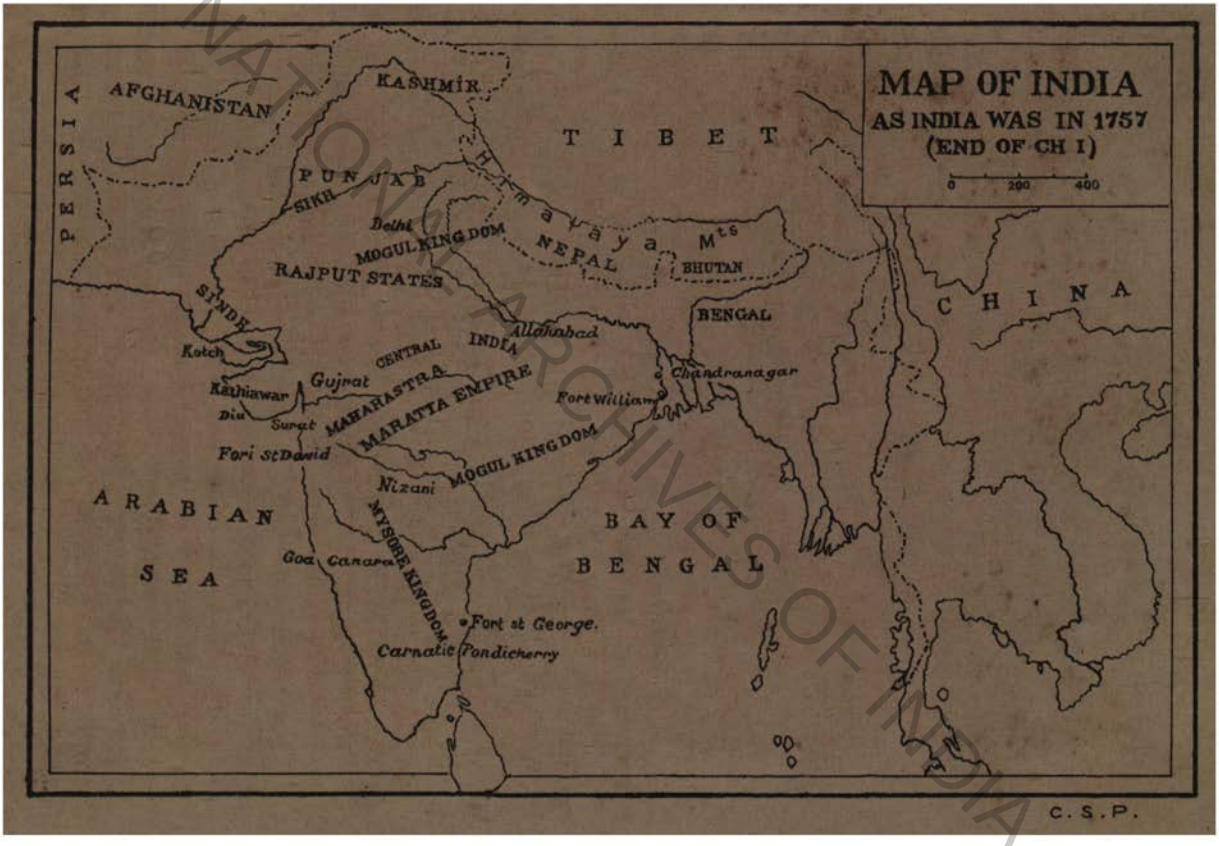

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Shree Buddha.

Shri Shankaracharya.

Namadev.

Dnyaneshwar.

Shree Ramanuja.

Shri Madhva.

Guru Nanak.

Guru Govind-Singh.

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Babar.

Akbar.

Shivajee.

Balajee Vishwanath.
first Peshwa

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human language, religion, philosophy, arts and sciences. Candid and intelligent Indians acknowledged in turn how much their own old nation had been left behind in arts of peace and war. The leaders of every nationality acknowledged the valour and superiority in arms of the English, of their discipline and mobilization. They admired their bearing, moral standard and wider human sympathies. They were surprised at the inexhaustible store of capable generals and administrators whom their country could send out after every reverse of fortune, defeat, disgrace or massacre.

The English connection with India was in trade. The Mahomedan expeditions were undertaken professedly for conquest or conversion and sometimes from political intrigue. The East India Company acted under the instructions of their directors at first and afterwards of the Board of control. The only expedition undertaken under the instructions of the Kalif of Bagdad was that of Mahomed Kasim. All other invaders from Sabaktagin acted on their own initiative and responsibility. The East India Company generally tried to avoid unnecessary wars and always avoided unnecessary blood-shed. They were ready for treaties as soon as the other party wanted them. In the case of the Mahamedan invaders plunder and acquisition of territory or females were the avowed objects. Alla-u-din's case seems quite singular even among Mahomedans and is probably without a parallel in the mythical, heroic or historic ages of any country. He made the surrender of a married queen the only condition of avoiding a war with him. The horrors to which this condition led shows the barbarity and resourcelessness of the Rajput male community no less than the submissive

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qualities of the female class who led by Padmini burnt themselves in fire in a closed vault. Could they not have assisted the male community in defense work? They could easily have, but the male community had no civilized notions and could invent no work for those who were really their equals. These matters show serious national faults which have been referred to as leaks in the ship at the conclusion of the last chapter.

Confederacy after confederacy of Rajput princes suffered defeats before smaller but solid bands of Mahomedan plunderers with at first no superior arms or discipline. A long course of sensuality, indulgence in intoxicating drugs, neglect of arms and love of religious life created by Buddhism, Vedantism and Puranas appear to have conspired to deprive the Rajputs of success.

It is a somewhat remarkable point that while Guru Govind found it necessary to have a reformed basis of religion for his new disciples and followers, Sivaji found no such reforms necessary. Mr. Elphinstone says "His first care in his conquest was to restore Hindu endowments and revive old institutions. He had been brought up in a strong Hindu feeling which perhaps was, at first, as much national as religious and out of this sprang up a rooted hatred to the Musalmans and an increasing attachment to his own superstitions. This inclination fell so well in with his policy that he began to affect peculiar piety and to lay claim to prophetic Dreamas and other manifestations of the favour of the gods".

If Shivaji did not find any religious reforms necessary for attaining political greatness his successors in aggrandizement of the Maratha power–Balaji Vishwanath, Shahu, Bajirao and Balaji–too did not find them necessary. It is

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on this account that we find a strenuous opposition to the notion that religious or social reforms are necessary for political greatness.

Those Maratha leaders again who established their standards of power in Guzerat, Malwa, Gwaliar or Nagpur did not find the orthodox religion any obstacle to their military or civil work and hence in all these states and places the orthodox Hindu religion remained unshaken. It even greatly increased in grandeur in hands such as those of Ahalyabai and to less extent in less liberal hands but everywhere it grew stronger.

The chief tenets of this old religion will be stated here as they will have to be constantly referred to as we proceed on our march to present times.

(1) The Contemplation of the soul was regarded as the key to all knowledge, mental satisfaction and even attainment of worldly things.

(2) Living on alms was regarded as thoroughly honourable. Every form of human labour agricultural, commercial or political came, in course to be looked upon as misdirection of energy.

(3) Not only neglect but contempt of the world, of one's house, wife, friend or country became the first step to spiritual progress and its advance was supposed to be in direct ratio to the extensity and intensity of the contempt. The possibility of invasions by foreign tribes and nations, the necessity of joint action for purposes of defence, possibility of plunder and loss of authority, danger of interference with religion, of imprisonment, massacre and other violence were not thought of. The Greek and other invasions were either too old events or were not known or were forgotten.

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(4) Incarnations and idol—worship. The force of Mahomedan religious belief condemning idolatry and their direct attacks on temples and images did indeed convince some people that idol—worship was not a very sure way of securing God's favour and if it was not condemned generally it was, in places, regarded as inferior. But Mahomedan force and attacks were far from being uniform. When they had gained different parts of India jealousy, quarrels and revolts arose among them on a far greater scale than ever was the case among the Hindus who had thereby plenty of opportunities to regain their power and reassert their dogmas. The establishment of the Bahamani kingdom at Gulburga was a conspicuous example of these revolts and the establishment of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar by a Hindu Raja Harihar of the use of these opportunities.

Between idol–worship and abstract contemplation of Brahma learned Sanskrit writers found no opposition. They reconciled them as steps in a rising series of spiritual progress. Nanak was a bolder or less casuistic reformer. He did not accept this compromise between material and spiritual worship and hence Sikhs like Jains were with equal injustice treated as non–Hindus.

(5) Universal kindness is one of the chief doctrines of Buddhism and it seems to have suited Purana and Vedanta writers to incorporate it as a Hindu doctrine. The controversy about its genesis whether Vedic or Buddhistic is not so important as the question of its practical application and utility is. Is its strict observance consistent with self–preservation and progress? That is the gist of the question—No civilized person will defend unnecessary or wanton cruelty to any living thing but

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punishment of offenders, destruction of carnivorous animals and domestic pests become as much human duties as nourishment and sleep. Hindu philosophy, writing about high spiritual life, pretends to consider all hurt unnecessary. The Yoga sutras of Patanjali go so far as to say that even a tiger will not attack a goat in the presence of a man of highly developed principle of self-restraint nor will a mungoose a snake and so on. The result of such writing was that prudent limitations of sound rules of conduct were not observed. Use of meat for food was regarded as the greatest sin and associated with mental degeneracy.

(6) Cow-worship also became very general. There is no doubt about her great usefulness. As giver of milk and producer of agricultural stock her value cannot be over-estimated but to wage wars with those who may be using beef as food can hardly be deemed reasonable especially as in Vedic times the article was used as food by all Hindus. The exaltation of a simple economic and humane doctrine into a cardinal religious tenet certainly appears to have done more harm than good.

(7) Caste-system has already been once referred to in the foregoing chapters. This subject of chief tenets of the orthodox Hindu religion may be closed here.

We may now proceed with our view of the different phases through which the East India Company passed from 1757 to 1858 when the Queen of England became the direct ruler of this country.

Clive's rapid and brilliant career is a brief example of what happened on a larger scale throughout India in a century. His successes in ten years and the whole nation's

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successes in a century are similar in character. A private company's clerk became the founder of an empire; small settlements on coasts expanded into provinces and presidencies. The clerk was no ordinary man. In the words of the Great Earl of Chatham " He was a heaven born general a man who bred to the labour of the desk displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of Frederick the Great of Prussia. "

I find Orme writing as follows about this clerk in connection with his defence of Arcot " Thus ended this seige maintained 50 days under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men in their first campaign with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken constancy and undaunted courage, and notwithstanding he had, at this time, neither read books or conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art; all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as are dictated by the best masters in the science of war " (Orme's History of Hindustan).

On Clive's departure home in 1760 other men appeared to maintain the credit of the company in arms. Col. Calliaud and Captain Knox saved Murshidabad and Patna from the attacks of Shaha Alam and the Nawab of Purnea. Though Vansittart and Hastings started an unjust war with Mir Kasim and it led to the massacre of soldiers at Patna the English were successful in the end and the victory of Hector Munro at Baxar against the Nawab of Oudh and Shaha Alam II made them masters in Oudh (1765).

Between 1765 and 1785 there were two wars with

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Hyder and one conflict with the Marathas. The Nizam never fought directly with the English. They again found themselves in serious difficulties but, as will be seen, they were aided by Providence and came out successful. Clive came back to India as Governor and Commander-in Chief but went back poorer (1767). His attempts to reform administration made him many enemies in India and England. The Parliament passed a qualified vote of censure on him and later he committed suicide. This shows why and by whom reforms are hated in all ages and how they lead honourable men to disgrace instead of to greater honour.

First cycle of twenty years:— Difficulties The English come out successful.

In the first war with Hyder Col. Smith drove him back but Col Wood's army was routed. Hyder threatened to attack Madras itself and a peace was concluded. (1768) Hyder was at war with the Poona Durbar headed by Madhavrao Peshwa in 1769. He came in such danger that he had to cede a large part of his dominions and agree to pay tribute besides to the Darbar. Madhavrao died in 1772. and his brother Narayanrao who succeeded him was treacherously murdered in 1773.

The English Parliament passed in this year an Act by which the Bengal Governor became Governor General of India with supreme power over all British possessions therein.

A supreme court of justice was established in Calcutta with powers independent of the Governor General in council. The council consisted of four members. Warren Hastings was the first Governor General. Majority of votes was necessary for determination of policy and there was great trouble on account of differences of opinions, personal likes and dislikes, self-interest and the interest of the company.

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Hard measures against America such as duty on tea closing of trade in the port of Boston, annulment of the charter of Masachusett's (1774) and employment of military force for carrying out king's orders (1775) brought on war. France joined the colonies. Lord Chatham died (1778). Spain joined France (1779) and Gibralter was besieged.

The English wanted to raise Raghunathrao to Peshwaship as he applied to them for it. Their ground of compliance with the application was that though Narayanrao the posthumous son had been declared his heir, his legitimacy was questioned. With the express purpose of carrying out Raghunathrao's cause a British force left Bombay (1778) in November but was driven back by Scindia and Phadkey early in 1779 and a treaty was concluded but this was afterwards disapproved and Col. Goddard started to assert the English authority. He captured Ahmadabad in Guzerat and Basin in Concan but on his way to Poona his force was harrased by Marathas as the first force under Col. Cockburn had been and he had to go back to Bombay (1780).

Hyder resumed his attacks on the English in Madras.

Nearly all Europe joined France and Spain in armed neutrality against the English.

Ireland clamoured for free trade right and wanted to be independent (1780).

In London itself there were riots between Protestants and Catholics which had to be put down by military force (1780.)

Lord Cornwallis had to surrender with a force of four thousand to the French and George Washington (1781). Things in India, Europe, America, Ireland and England itself were unsatisfactory. Arabella Buckley (Mrs. Fisher) writes " It seemed as if England would be crushed under her many enemies. War expenses rose. Ministry became unpopular

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Lord North declared " It is all over " and resigned in despair." This was the second time of grave trouble during England's connection with India but again she was helped out by Providence as will appear below.

Lord Howe succeeded in relieving Gibralter. Admiral Rodney gained a victory against a French fleet and the treaty of Versailles was concluded with the French (1782). Hyder died in the same year. The younger Pitt became prime minister of England (1783). Peace was made with the Marathas at Salpa (1783). The independence of America was acknowledged in the same year and a treaty was made at Mangalore with Tipu (1784). Thus nearly all the clouds disappeared but the changes required no little statesmanship, military strength and help of Providence which last is the collective name of all causes and laws beyond human grasp and control and not of a Being whose favour can be secured by flowers, songs, fasts and sacrifices. The unknown laws and causes are not a constant quantity but a reducible one by knowledge. As sphere of knowledge increases that of Providence diminishes, and when this widened knowledge controls human affairs and conduct they may be regarded to have received so much more aid from Providence than would otherwise have been the case. Authentic history ancient or modern is a valuable means of acquiring a knowledge of these unknown laws and hence its value to those who want the help of Providence. Is it not essential for Hindus to know why they failed to receive this help for nearly two thousand years ? Every occasion on which England was saved from difficulties by this help is a serious lesson to India and for this reason I have referred to it with so much stress. It is true Sivaji founded a kingdom where there had been

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none before and Shahu extended it with the help of his Peshwas Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao but within a hundred years from Sivaji's coronation the Maratha arms suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat, their confederacy was broken and at the time of the treaty of Salpa, the centre of this power which was at Poona was as much under the English control as the head of any other kingdom Mahamedan or Maratha. This speedy collapse of a youthful nation is a matter for serious thought and I shall leave the readers to derive what lessons they can out of it. The English system of the government of Bengal devised by Clive was not in proper Hindu hands. He employed all native agency but it was not properly chosen. Corrupt and oppressive men were given powers of collection of revenue and when men who were oppressed applied to the judicial officers who were independent of the executive authority many conflicts arose between the two departments of government.

Mr. Mill has given long accounts about these conflicts in his History and Lord Macaulay has in his essay on Warren Hastings given a description which no other pen can do. He says " Imagine what the state of our country would be if it were enacted that any man by merely swearing that a debt was due to him should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings and of women of the most shrinking delicacy; to horsewhip a general officer to put a bishop in the stocks to treat ladies in the way which called for the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the company's territory.

" A reign of terror began, a terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible

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than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected of this strange tribunal. × × ×

" The harems of noble mahomedans, sanctuaries respected in the East by government which respected nothing else were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. " × ×

" He (Hastings) saw that the system pursued by the supreme court was degrading to the government and ruinous to the people and he resolved to oppose it manfully " × ×

" The Government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The chief justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor General and all the members of his council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the king's justices and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings with just scorn refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the court and took measures to resist the outrageous proceedings of the Sheriff's officers if necessary by the sword "

The English government at home appointed a select committee for the disposal of petitions against the supreme government in India and the same committee was afterwards asked to suggest a better mode of Government. The trial of Warren Hastings was also in the hands of this committee.

A bill was introduced by Mr. Pitt for the appoint ment of a board of control of government ministers over the political affairs of the East India Company and it was passed (1784). Lord Cornwallis was appointed as Governor General (1786).

We now enter on a second cycle of twenty years. The expectation that British power would become paramount in India which was entertained at its commence-

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ment came fully near realization at its end. The French power rose to its greatest splendour in Europe under her hero Napolean whose activity and endurance as a soldier, skill and industry as a general, personal charm and legislative ability took nations by surprize and marked him as a human prodigy. He tried to come to India but was uuable to do so. England rose high in India and during these twenty years, for the third time, got into difficulties and was helped out by Providence. The chief events of these 20 years are as follows.

Hyder's son Tipu whose ability was equalled by his madness attacked Travancore to spread Mahomedan religion. The English as allies interfered. His capital Seringapatam was attacked and he had to conclude peace there (1792). The French revolution which broke out in 1789 was and probably will remain unequalled as a fight between the first two etates on one side and the third on the other. The gross abuses which led to it and the furious excesses. which were committed in consequence were alike uncommon. The English revolution was no parallel to it. The Russian and Chinese democratic movements of recent dates can hardly be said to be equally strong. In India there have been many occasions of gross abuse but the third estate never knew its rights, never had proper leaders and they never assisted it.

The French did not get what they wanted till nearly eighty years after. Napolean's career changed the whole character of the revolutionary movement. It wanted to improve the internal administration of the country but the country became engaged in aggressive wars with nearly the whole of Europe under Napolean's leadership first as consul and then as Emperor.

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Ireland again tried for independence and arranged to get the aid of a French force but owing to storms and fog the fleet was not able to sail and find its way.

Napolean planned a joint attack on the English fleet by the Dutch, Spanish and French vessels but admirals Duncan and Jervis and the great Nelson gained victory after victory on the sea finally compelling Napolean to come back from Africa to Europe and leaving his intention of going to India. From Cairo he was in correspondence with Tipu (1798) but their intentions were not fulfilled (see Champaklal Mehta's translation of Lyall's rise of English power in India).

Sindia and Nana Farnavis vied with each other in becoming more powerful in the Court of the second Madhavrao but Sindia died (1794). Madhavrao gained a victory against the Nizam at Kharda but died shortly after (1795). Bajirao succeeded (1796). General Wellesely brother of Marquis of Wellesley the Governor General raised him to the Peshwaship. Nana Farnavis died in 1800 after being confined by Bajirao.

Within about fifty years from their battle of Devikota the English people became almost supreme in a foreign country and were able, (1) to help both the Emperor of Delhi and the Peshwa of Poona to reman at the head of their governments (2) and to dictate terms to nearly every chief Hindu or Mahomedan, The Mahratas, in their own country, not only dissolved the confederacy they had formed but they were disliked everywhere within a hundred years. The Rajputs did not want them nor the Gujrathis, nor Bengalis nor Mysories. In religion and language the English were at much greater distance from any Indian nation than the Mahrattas were, but every above nation wanted to make treaties with the English in preference to the Deccanis.

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The Mahomedans were driven back and a curb was put on their power and fanaticism by the Mahrattas but their demand of money for peace was excessive and they failed in endearing themselves to the people of Malwa, Rajputana or Gujrat. Every nationality preferred the English to them and their power also seemed to increase by leaps and bounds.

Mohamad Ali died (1795). He was succeeded by his son but was pensioned off as he was found to have assisted Tipu and Carnatic was annexed (1801). Surat was also annexed for want of proper title. Mr. Mill considers it an act of great injustice. Tanjore was under misgovernment. Succession was in dispute. It was also annexed by the Marquis of Wellesley.

Jaswantrao Holkar and Daulatrao Scindia fought with each other for territory. The former allied himself with a Pindari Chief Amirkhan and defeated both Bajirao and Daulatrao and burnt part of Poona. Bajirao fled and put himself under the protection of the English (1802). Treaty of Basin was concluded.

Tipu waged his last war with the English and lost his life and kingdom (1799).

In 1802 there was a peace between France and England. It is known as the treaty of Ameins. It did not much affect Indian affairs.

In 1803 Bhosale was defeated by General Wellesley at Argaon and a peace was signed at Dewalgaon.

Sindia was defeated at Laswari by General Lake (1803), and a treaty was concluded at Sarje Anjangaon but they were both at war with the English in two years. The Fnglish thus rose in power every where in India.

Napolean rose in power in Europe simultaneously.

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The English saw that he would not allow them rest till he was defeated. He became Emperor (1804) of France and ordered a blockade of all English ports forbidding all continental nations to trade with England (1806). The French fleet was defeated at Trafalgar but Napoleon was successful at Austerlitz and Jena. Pitt and Fox died (1806).

Tanjore, Carnatic, Mysore and Surat came under the direct rule of the English. Subsidiary system was established in Poona, Gujerat, Nagpur, Oudh and Rajaputana. Sindia entered into a treaty but broke it. There remained no doubt about paramountcy of the British power in India though there was a hot contest for it in Europe between them and the French.

While their arms were thus gaining success their literary and adminsitrative interest was also creating an equally favourable impression. Lord Cornwallis ' Permanent Revenue system for Bengal had nothing like it in the past. Study of Sanskrit, Arabian and Persian languages, translation of books in those languages into English for the guidance of courts, establishment of a College for the study of history, political economy and languages by Englishmen and of Schools for the study of English by Indians were strong evidence of a destire to acquire and impart knowledge, administer justly and increase the happiness of the people. No Mahomedan king except Akbar had shown such desire to know what there was in the Hindu books of religion or science. The Portugese Dutch or French had never cared to know it. The Mahrattas, of course, knew everything there was in them but they had no idea of reform and did not know how to use religion for social and national progress. Here

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was now a civil and military power possessed of literary taste, spirit of enquiry and tolerant attitude in religion wishing to find out truth and govern each community according to its laws. How could such a power fail to win the heart of the nation ? And if State after State came under its influence with electric rapidity there was no reason for surprize.

We now go on to the third cycle of 22 years from 1806 to 1828. The events of this period both in India and Europe witnessed changes of Empires. The Mahomedan and Mahratta sovereignties came to an end in India and Napolean's empire came to an end in Europe. He interfered in the succession to the crown of Spain, put his own brother Joseph on the throne and filled Spain with indignation. George Canning (father of the future Viceroy Lord Canning) sent General Wellesley and Sir John Moore to Spain (1808).

Both these men made a brave stand against Napolean's Generals (1809-1813). Napolean went to Russia and came back victorious in name only. Out of 400000 only 20000 returned. The rest died from the effects of bitter winter and want of food and shelter. He was first defeated at Leipsig (1813). He then abdicated, remained a prisoner for nine months at Elba, fled from the Island was defeated again at Waterloo and was banished to St. Helena. The whole Continent was re-formed and re-settled by the allies who had defeated the French.

Lord Wellesley's vigorous policy was not liked at home. Mr. Mill criticizes his wars as those of choice and not necessity and unjust to the States of India. He has also severely criticized those members of Parliament who tried to hamper Warren Hasting's impeachment by technical

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difficulties and points of procedure. Lord Cornwallis came again to put a stop to the wars and he and Sir George Barlow did so for a time. Lord Minto who succeeded the latter settled the internal wars of the chiefs of Bundelkhand (1807).

The Marquis of Hastings had to engage in a war with Nepal as their subjects the Gurkhas attacked British territory. Sir David Ochterlony succeeded in taking the fortresses of Maloun and Jytak, advanced to Khatmandu and a peace was concluded at Sigavli (1816). At the same time the Pindhari leader Amirkhan's gangs were attacked by a joint campaign of the armies of the three Presidencies from three sides and he was brought to terms.

Sir John Malcolm defeated Holkar's army and he was brought under the subsidiary system (1818). Appa Sahib Bhosale attacked the Nagpur Residency but was defeated. His grandson was appointed as his successor. The Peshwa Bajirao's army attacked Kirkee where Mr. Elphinstone the Resident of Poona had retired but Bajirao was unable to gain a victory. He surrendered after two more battles and retired on pension to Brahmavarta.

The Burmese under Maha Bandula entertained an idea that they could drive out the English. A dispute arose about the Island of shahpuri between the Burmese and the English. This led to war. Sir Archibald Campbell defeated them at Donabu and a peace was concluded in 1826.

At the same time Bharatpur was captured by Lord Combermere and the deceased Rajah's heir who had been put into prison by a usurper was declared as his successor.

In 1829 Messrs Elphinstone, Pabington and Monson framed regulations for the government of the Bombay Presidency. Similar regulations for Madras and Bengal

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existed already. Only a careful study of these regulations can show to what variety of subjects they refer and with how much ability they were made for the information and guidance of the public. The old Mohomedan courts of justice consulted the Koran and its commentaries, and the Hindu courts Smritis and their commentaries. Knowledge of law was confined to the learned and sacred classes. Warren Hastings and Cornwallis constituted mixed tribunals associating Pandits, Muftis and cazis with European Magistrates and Judges. Mr. Mill has given information about them in his history.

A perusal of the selections from Shahu and Peshwa's diaries edited by R. B. G. C. Wad show that the interpretation of the Shastras by the Brahman communities was accepted as sufficient in all difficult cases. Where Shastras did not serve as guide, Common sense and prevailing custom were used as guides, evidence was recorded, opinions of old influential men were taken and justice was cheap and summary. Only a careful reading of these diaries can show the full character of this pre-British judicial administration. A few points however may be noticed from the selections for the information of the reader of these pages.

Murder when committed in revenge under proper provocation was excused. It was often punished with fine. In cases of cheating, breach of trust, the parties who had suffered by the offences were compensated in money and Government credited some additional money for their trouble. Slavery did not prevail in India in the sense in which it prevailed in Europe or America. The only cases found of that nature are of women and children found without husbands,

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parents and other guardians. When any person was found willing to take charge of them their price was deducted from sums due to him by Government or added to those due to Goverment or required to be paid down.

Mutilation was the usual punishment for thefts. For treason there was death. Any one can contrast this system with the prevailing one. I shall have ample opportunity to express my own views about the way in which justice ought to be administered. There can not be any doubt that the British system was more uniform more open and better organized though more cumbersome and technical.

The employment of European agency in, and abolition of Natives from high executive and judicial posts began in the time of Warren Hastings. The Marquises of Wellesley and Hastings developed the spirit of that policy and instituted real foreign government in India. These men are spoken of as the organisers of Indian administration as they were also the founders of British authority and paramountcy. It was however in this system that the seeds of bureacracy were sown. Whenever any statesman tried to moderate the evil the Anglo-Indian community did not like it. Whenever the European element was increased that person was praised by it. In 1828 this evil was not so apparent. No Indian History clearly traces its commencement to this period.

Having noticed these features of British Administration of this period I shall continue the historical statement of the progress of British power to the end of the last cycle of 30 years (1828–1858).

There was another third renewal of the E. I. Company's charter in 1833 after 20 years from the second in

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1813. Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General at this time and Lord Mecaulay was one of his councillors. Raja-Rama Mohan Ray is the non-official Indian of the time whom Bentinck consulted and respected. These three gifted and broad-minded men introduced so many changes in administration and educational policy that though physically India was separated by three seas from England, intellectually and administratively it was united with the British Isles. If Scotland was united with England in 1707, and Ireland in 1800, India was united in 1833. If the treasures of Western learning were unreservedly opened to the Indians they on their side showed such marvellous capacity of study and appreciation of its worth that the best minds of the two countries were never found to differ in regarding the step as forming the strongest bond of grateful friendship. There are soms believers of the opposite view who regard the step as unwise, unsuited and impolitic. Their number must be as small as that of believers in absolute autonomy.

Mr. Vira Raghavachariar in his "History of India for schools" says that Indians were appointed as subordinate judges in Madras at this time by Sir Thomas Munro and by Elphinstone in Bombay who also appointed them as Deputy Collectors and that many more Indians were thus employed in the government of this country than had been the case before (page 240).

Mr. K. N. Chandabhoy classifies the reforms of Bentink's time into economical, educational, industrial, judicial, revenue and social (See page 132 of his Student's manual of Indian History). Indian gentlemen began to pay visits to Europe. Ram Mohan who formed the well-known non-idolatrous Hindu church–the Brahma Samaj in 1829–went

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to England in 1830. If the discovery of America and India in the 15th and 16th centuries opened the eyes of Europeans to the vastness of the world's populated area, the eyes of the Indians were opened in the nineteenth century by visits to Europe.

Practically all high offices remained in the hands of Europeans but in theory every office was thrown open to Natives, provided they were qualified. The doors of admission were in England and as none went to that country the higher services were as good as closed. There was enough hard work however for one generation at least in India itself

To rise to the level of European ideas of government or the level of refined Christian views of duties of life was not an easy thing. It meant an advance of centuries of freedom and hard work.

This was the time when people for the first time began to have ideas of what printing meant, what newspapers meant, what equal laws and equal social life for the whole community means, what long lines of bridged and metalled roads are, how physical agents and machinery invented by man can accomplish things for the good of society. It was the birth of a new age—we may say it was the end of Kaliyuga in India if that word has any real meaning.

The chief political events of Bentinck's time were the annexation of Coorg and introduction of British administration in Mysore.

The vast extension of Russian dominion and influence in Asiatic countries naturally aroused English men's sense of danger. With a view to secure a friendly chief on Indian borders beyond Peshawar that is on the other side of the Himalaya range they undertook an expedition into

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Afghanistan and Shaha Shuja was proclaimed King (1839). His rival Dost Mahomad surrendered and was given a pension (1840). In 1841 an insurrection broke out in Kabul and Dost Mahomad's son Akbar Khan treacherously murdered Sir W. Macnaghton and another officer. The large British force in Kabul at the time had no good chief and the whole with one exception perished on its way back into India by their undeserved faith in Afghan friendship and unwarranted sense of their own weakness.

Soon an expedition for revenge was put on foot under Generals Sale and Pollock. Kabul was taken as well as revenge, and the honour of British arms vindicated, but the Afgans were left free to manage their own affairs. Sind was annexed (1843).

In connection with the appointment of a regent of the boy adopted by Daulatrao's wife on his death as his successor there arose diffierences between the Dowager Rani and the Governor General, and a war was the result as the Rani could not properly control her army and preserve order in her territory. Sir Hugh Gough defeated it and from that time the Maharajah of Gwalior became a faithful feudatory of the British Government. (1844).

We come next to the First Sikh war remarkable alike for bravery, and treachery in its own camp. The Sikh or Khalsa army was defeated by Gough and Hardinge who though Governor General placed himself under Gough as second in command. There was another battle and a peace (1845).

Hardinge continued Bentinck's policy and established a Civil Engineering college at Rurki.

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Octroi duties on general trade were abolished and a Municipality was established at Calcutta. The improvement of Bombay was going on under Grant, Bellasis, Clerk and Arthur. I have no information about Madras but British rule is everywhere the same of restless and sympathetic work.

Lastly we come to the second Sikh war ending in the annexation of Punjab [1849], the Burmese war endeding in the direct administration of Lower Burmah by a Chief Commiesner [1853], and annexationof eight other States to British territory such as Nagpur, Satara, Oudh, Jhansi, Sambalpur and as the Governor General Lord Dalhousie believed that British administration secured the happiness of the people better than Native rule.

Having regard to their state of knowledge at the time of the English language full employment of Natives in high offices was simply impossible. Dalhousi's view could then have only meant the employment of English people in all superior offices. Such a policy must at all times and all places create discontent among the natives of the soil. The exclusion of the people of the land from their own country's superior administration is only another name for a species of misgovernment. It was not clearly seen in this light by either the English or the natives then. The large employment of the English was therefore inevitable and discontent also followed gradually but inevitably.

I shall now refer to a few other chief events of Dalhousi's time, a few important reforms which took place in England and glance at the chief events on the continent of Europe.

In 1853 a Railway line was opened from Bombay to a distance of twenty miles. Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay then. Telegraph lines were opened over thou-

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sands of miles. Postal system was arranged over large provinces and irrigation departments were established.

In place of the Indian Navy the P & O company took up the duty of carriage of mails and passengers every month from Bombay to London (1855). It is very difficult to have a proper notion of the trouble and dangers which attended the maintenance of efficient means of communication and passage between India and England. There were so many foreign nations on the way–Mahomedan and European–that the solution of the problem and a better attainment of the means reflects the greatest credit on the patience no less than on the knowledge and ability of the English nation. Geographically England is the furthest land in Europe from Asia but it is this very land which has succeeded during nearly three centuries to keep up uniform communication between the two countries in a more and more efficient way.

In England great improvements were made in criminal law. It is rather surprising that at so late a date as 1808 some 200 offences, some very trivial as theft of cloth or fish were punishable with death in that country. This state of things was improved in 1834 but punishment of death still continued for nearly 100 offences. [Mrs. Fishers History of England].

The disability of Catholics to sit, on election, in the English Parliament was removed in 1829.

When the House of Lords did not want to pass the third reform Bill for the extension of franchize Lord Grey had to ask the King to say that their opposition would be set aside by creating new peers [1831]. The difficulty was got over by the opposing Lords remaining absent.

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Slavery was abolished in 1833 in all English dominions. Income tax was imposed [1842] and duties on corn reduced to 1s. a quarter (1846). These are both Sir Robert Peel's reforms.

In France Charles X who had succeeded Louis XVIII abdicated. His cousin Louis Philippe of Orleans became General and king. This is called the second French Revolution (1830). In 1848 Louis Phillipe fled to England and a republic was established. Louis Napolean became President and remained so for three years. Peel died in 1850. All over Europe the cause of Nationalism was gaining ground. There were societies, leagues and unions in Austria, Germany, Italy and Greece. This last country had already once in 1820 tried to drive away the Turks from Europe and at last been assisted by Russia, France and England in 1827, when the tyranny of the Turks over Christians had become too gross to be tolerated even by neutral nations. Matternich's power in Austria broke down in 1848 and in Italy there was a short revolution in that year. It was soon put down by the Austrian and French forces. Cavour became Prime minister in the little State of Piedmont. He introduced the English form of Government in that state, gained sympathies of all countries for helping the Italians to get a national government without unnecessary sacrifice of young patriotic blood. Mazzini and Garribaldi never properly understood the wisdom of his cautious policy but the freedom of Italy is due to his disguised assistance and the providential successes of Garribaldi. In spite of all these Nationalistic movements Louis Napolean seized the reins of government in France by a coup d'etat in 1857.

War broke out between Russia and Turkey in the

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interests of Christains but England out of a spirit of jealousy against Russia helped Turkey and Louis Napolean joined them as he wanted to have the English on his side to keep his own power in France. Cavour joined them in order to have the sympathies of both France and England confirmed in favour of Italy and alienated from Austria. This war was concluded in 1856 by the treaty of Paris.

A mutiny broke out among some of the Indian regiments in 1857 but the mutineers were defeated in various centres by Outram, Havelock, Campbell and Roe.

During these tumultuous days the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established. Lord Canning was Governor General from 1856. He is much admired for his resourcefulness and clemency shown during those dark days.

The direct rule of the East India Company ceased from 1858 and the Queen and Parliament became directly responsible as in fact they were before, though not as distinctly.

The hundred years of which I have given a brief record meant for the Indian contintent a change of something like thirty centuries. It was a return to Satya Yuga and Vedic times with civilization of the 19th century. The changes wrought by Buddhism, Puranas, Moghul and Maratha rule were hardly equal taken all together to the changes wrought in one century, 1758—1858. If the Vedas were latterly Monotheistic, here was a monotheistic government. If there was no caste in Vedic times here was a government which recognised no caste among the Indians. If the Upanishad's and Advaita philosophy preached equality and brotherhood of man here was a government which was prepared to treat prince and peasant equally. If the Buddhistic religion preached universal kindness here

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was a government which punished cruelty to animals as an offence. If Mahomedan rule was severe here was a government which could punish offenders as severely. If the Mahrattas did not force their religion on any one here was a government which allowed religious freedom to everybody. In fact here was a combination of all good things in a foreign personality.

I have stated at the end of the last chapter that the English came in time to save a leaking and mismanaged ship. The record of their successful work during a hundred years noticed in this chapter will show that they settled all the quarrels of the crew, appointed a competent captain and other officers under him, repaired leaks as far as possible provided new machinery and coal and proposed to take the ship on a fresh voyage. Control remained with foreigners. Subordinate work remained with natives. A great many people did not want the new voyage but some wanted it keenly even under foreign control. The most troublesome question was how this control was to be shared, if at all, between the foreigners and the natives. It was decided that control would be handed over as the men would, during the new voyage, show their fitness. This voyage in English and European education, generally began in earnest with the foundation of the Universities. The effect of this new voyage will be seen in the next three chapters. Candid and intelligent men have recognized the merits of the new light in literature, science and philosophy. There are those who are ever given to admire old things. Them no education and no voyage can do good.

In connection with this tendency of admiration the following learned observations of Mr. John Theodore Merz appear pertinent and instructive.

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"The ideas of attraction which in the hands of Newton and Laplace have led to such remakable results are of great age and were familiar to the philosophers of Greece and Rome; the same can be said of the atomic theory which, in the hands of Dalton became such a powerful instrument. The principles of energy and its conservation can be traced back to the writings of Newton and Leibnitz, even to earlier thinkers. The same may be said of the modern ideas of heat, of the molecular theory of gases and even of Lord Kelvin's vortices whilst the views which through Darwin have revolutionised the natural sciences have been traced in the suggestions of much earlier writers. Elaborate claims to priority have thus been set up for persons to whom it is said the credit of modern discoveries should be given. I do not intend to contribute to this controversial literature except by a general remark which will explain how it has come to pass that ideas and principles now recognized as useful instruments of thought and research have only recently attained this importance while they have freguently been the property of many ages of philosophical thought and familiar even to the writers of antiquity. It is the scientific method, the exact statement which was wanting and which raises the vague guesses of the philosophical or dreams of the poetic mind to the rank of definite canons of thought capable of precise explanation, of mathematical analysis and of exact verification. Obscure notions of the attractive and repulsive forces of nature have floated before the minds of philosophers since the time of Empedocles but they did not become useful to science till Galileo and Newton took the first step to measure the intensity of those forces. Lucretius' poem introduces to us the early speculation

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on the atomic constitution of matter but the hypothesis of his school only led to real knowledge of the things of nature when Dalton following Lavoisier and Richter reduced this idea to definite numbers, still more so when through the law of Avogadro and Ampere and the calculations of Joule, Clausius and Thomson the velocities, number and sizes of atoms became calculable and measurable quantities. Descartes and after him Malebranche filled space with vortices which were to explain the constitution of matter and the movement of its parts: but the notion was abandoned and ridiculed till Helmholtz and Thomson approached the subject with mathematical analysis and calculated the properties of Vortex motion.

"Heraclitus proclaimed six hundred years before the Christian era the theory that every thing moves or flows: but not till this century was the attempt made to work out the definite hypothesis of Daniel Bernolli and to explain the properties of bodies apparently at rest—the pressure of gases, or the phenomena of elasticity by assuming a hidden motion of the imperceptible portions of matter. The same fate of lying dormant for ages attaches to the suggestive ideas of many thinkers. In every case the awakening touch has been the mathematical spirit, the attempt to count, to measure or to calculate. What to the poet or the seer may appear to be the very death of his poetry and all his visions—the cold touch of the calculating mind—this has proved to be the spell by which knowledge has been born, by which new sciences have been created and hundreds of definite problems put before the minds and into the hands of diligent students. It is the Geomtrical figure, the dry algebraical formula which transforms the vague reasoning of the philosopher into a tangible and manageable conception; which represents, though it does not fully describe, which

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corresponds to though it does not explain the things and processes of nature: this clothes the fruitful but otherwise indefinite ideas in such a form that the strict logical methods of thought can be applied, that the human mind can in its inner chamber evolve a train of reasoning the result of which corresponds to the phenomena of the outer world. By such processes did Gauss and Leverrier succeed in tracing the lines in the heavens on which invisible stars were speeding through the universe; without them these objects in nature would probably never have been recognized. Similar and still more intricate reasonings permitted to arrange in geometrical order the several elements or simple substances out of which matter is compounded and point to the vacant places on the chart some of which have since been filled up by new discoveries. Thus it has also been shown that the ranges of temperature can not be extended indefinitely in both directions—viz. those of heat and cold—but that the latter possesses zero point representing the complete absence of motion. " [Pages 312—315 Vol I History of European thought in the 19th century.] What is true of Empedocles and Lucretius is also true of Bhaskaracharya and Kanada though they were writers of unrivalled merit in their own ages.

CHAPTER III.

1858–1880.

EDUCATIONAL VOYAGE IN FULL PROGRESS.

We have now arrived at the period where India's systematic progress in western culture and in the development of that critical faculty which is its chief feature, begins.

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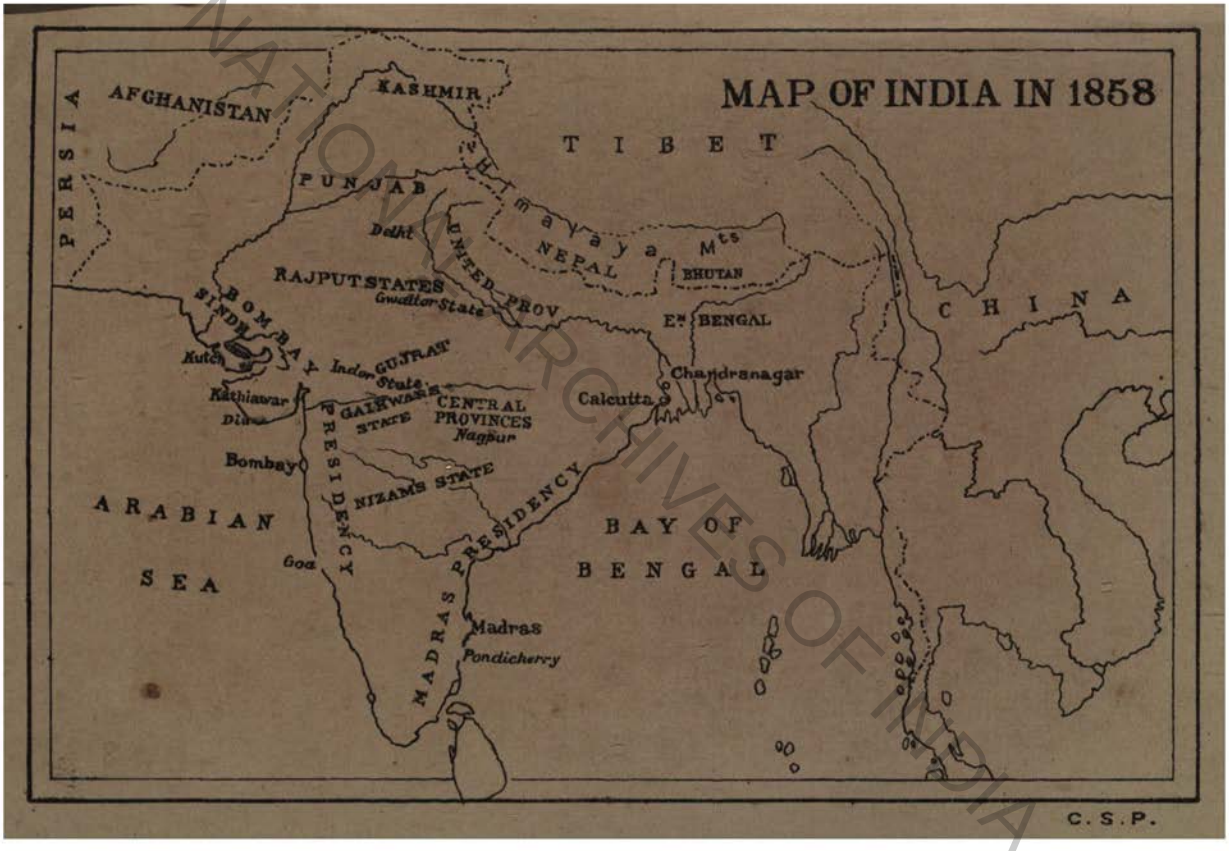

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Lord Clive.

Macaulay.

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In 1862 the University of Bombay turned out its first four graduates in Arts, two of them being the well-known (now Dr. and Sir) Bhandarkar and late Justice Ranade. In the 20th year (1882) the number of graduates increased to about thirty and in the 30th year from 1882 (1912) the number rose to more than four hundred. What is true of Bombay is also true of Calcutta and Madras. Two Universities were added in 1882 and 1887 those of the Punjab and Allahabad. Within ten years from 1862 colleges in Medicine, Engineering and Law were established in Bombay and later, Technical, Agricultural and Veterinary colleges were also added in the Presidency. The same thing happened in other Presidencies.

The most interesting question relating to this generous feature of India's administration by a western nation, this introduction of

(1) advanced scientific studies,
(2) knowledge of critical History and of European languages not in substitution or supercession of but along with Brahmanic and Budhistic literature.

is as to the effect which those studies and this knowledge produced on the Indian mind, on their religious, social and political views.

The Brahmo Samaja had already been founded in 1830 but its missionaries did not travel about India or go to Europe to expound the principles of the theistic church till 1867.

Keshab Chandrasen and Protapchandra Muzumdar held audiences spell-bound for hours by their eloquence and the establishment of Prarthana Samaja is due chiefly to their efforts in this Presidency. The civil-marriage Act 1872 was

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passed to assist their members to shake off the fetters of the orthodox religion and celebrate valid marriages without the aid of the recognised priest. How desirable this same liberty is to every class of Hindus in India is shown by the monster meetings held and petitions sent to the Government of India to support the Honourable Bhupendranath who was trying by a bill to secure this liberty. Opposition meetings were even more largely attended and the Government of India came to the conclusion that the bill had not enough support to be passed even for Hindus alone. This happens in 1911; and it shows that the spirit which pervaded the Government in passing the widow remarriage-act (1866) or the first civil marriage act, has vanished. Of course it is a triumph for the orthodoxy but the important fact to be noted is that the orthodox public who opposed the bill counted among its supporters a very large number of men who were either no reformers or only cautious reformers or whose settled principle of policy was to receive no legislation affecting religion from foreigners.

A very wide question as to the sphere of religion arises here for consideration. At one time in the history of the world it had no sphere at all. At another time everything was in the sphere of religion but in modern times its proper sphere is supposed to begin where that of science ends. If marriage means a life-long bond dissoluble under certain circumstances between a man and woman of unprohibited degree of kinship would the science of law be unable to derive the terms of this bond, or set out the bounds of kinship? How can any priest make them more sensible? If the facts and terms have already been defined for him by religion and he merely attends to them, Law can sanction them as well and any non-priest can secure their observance. The parties to the marriage would

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again bear their responsibilities if of age and their guardians would bear them if the parties were under age. It might be said that no civil marriages of parties under age are to be found in any country but no religious child marriages also are to be found in them. In India child marriages are the rule and if these are to get the benefit of civil form they cannot be left out of consideration. As long as Government will not recognize their duty in this matter the tyranny of priest and caste will continue. Government never hesitated to give new civil, criminal and police laws, procedure and officers. If, what are deemed to be sound conditions of a valid marriage, according to reformed Hindu notions and the present advanced state of knowledge of the world, are stated those who like them will adopt the civil marriage form and those who do not will follow the old religious procedure. This latter form will not be supplanted and no one can say that there has been interference with religious liberty. The Hindu society not having any civil, religious or military power cannot do anything authoritatively and if Government will also not do anything; it simply means continuation of the old state of things or virtually retrogression. Let us hope a proper civil marriage bill will shortly be proposed and passed.

The Brahmo church though it embodies one of the purest forms of religious doctrines has not secured many followers. The preachers addressed masses in English as Buddhist preachers did in Pali and hence made little effect. Any church to make progress in India or indeed any country must have preachers speaking in the people's languages and not a foreign language however elegant or powerful. Let us hope better efforts may yet be made with better results. Perhaps a more tolerant attitude towards idolatry is a necessity. This point has been brought out in a play written by

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me in Marathi entitled "Intercaste marriage" If this is translated into Bengali it may do some good. I should be very happy to give the necessary permission if any Bengali gentleman wanted it.

We shall now have a look at another religious movet ment that of the Arya Samaja Its life-giver was Swami Dayanand saraswati whose life like that of Ram Mohan has been written by many admirers in different places. One Bengali gentleman has written more fully than others and was engaged in 1911 in revising his first edition. I do not exactly know whether he has finished his labours. The Swami began his public career as a preacher in 1873. His unstained moral character prepossesing appearance, gigantic stature, patriotic views, great Sanskri-scholar-ship and wide sympathies, readiness of repartee, high intelligence and ingenuity of explanations. not only spread his reputation far and wide and secure friends admirers and followers but enabled him to establish his own-church. Any one can see a fairly large building in the heart of Girgaum-Bombay called the Arya-Samaja Hall and I suppose there are many special buildings of his church from Lahore to Calcutta. The central doctrine of the great man was revelation of the Vedas. This at once brought him into conflict with the Brahmo Samaja but more particularly with Theosophical leaders in Bombay who had expressed a desire to join their society with the Arya-Samaja and work in co-operation. The Swami with all his qualifications was deficient in a knowledge of European progress and research, lacked toleration and was sometimes uncivil in his speech. Between him and Mrs Blavatsky and Col Olcott no common line of action was found possible. The Arya-Samaja and the Theosophical Society soon decided to work separately. I have not given a separate

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paragraph for this latter society as it is only Hinduism on a broad and reformed basis but it fully deserves to be counted as a new force of great usefulness in India. Its mention in connection with the Arya-Samaja is very fitting as that Samaja is also doing very useful work.

Swami Dayanand's second doctrine was mono-theism. He condemned Idolatry as strongly as a Mahomedan or a Christian, denied elemental worship in the Vedas and developed the line of refinement and rationalization begun in the Brahmanas and Nirukta but did so at the sacrifice of truth and history. His condemnation of Idolatry in the garb of an orthodox Sanyasi was a raresight. No Hindu writer or preacher during the past twenty centuries had the courage to do it not excepting even the great Vedantist Shankar. It alienated him from the estiblished churches and from the great mass of the Hindu nation. Some considered him a Christian convert some attributed to him low birth, some called him a spy. These are the usual weapons with which an impotent antagonist tries to disgrace and discredit his enemy. After a public career of six or seven years chequered by attempts on his life, by ridicule in streets and set discussions in meetings, the Swami was able to assert his postion as an independent and fearless preacher above flattery and deceit. A College and a High School a Samaja and a library at Lahore immortalize his name there. In every place visited by him he has left some ardent admirers of his teachings, and more than one Prince in Rajaputana had a deep religious reverence for him. He was against all caste-system and went the length of sanctioning re-admission of Hindu converts back to their old religion and society. He was enthusiastic about strict celibacy and his own beaming face unfaltering speech,

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ready memory and copious vocabulary joined in testifying to the truth of his noble way of thinking. He extended the period of this strict single life to even forty-eight years but it was not meant to be of general application.

Lastly he advocated equal right of every-class to receive secular or religious education and females were regarded as equals of males in almost all matters. This short recital of his principal views will show to what high plane of thinking the Swami had reached. He did not know a word of English but it is impossible not to regard him as thoroughly impressed, though he did not enter a University himself, by what he saw around him—fruits of European civilization and manners. He began a monthly translation of the Vedas and a separate translation of Sanskrit grammar and other books.

It was in these seventees too that some pre-university learned men and University graduates began to publish or to contribute to Marathi, Gujarathi and Anglo-sanskrit Magazines, and works, in large numbers and I shall notice some of them.

The Gujarath Vernaculor Society [Ahmadabad] had begun its Buddhi Prakasha under Mr. Forbes guidance and it now attained greater support and circulation.

The Poona-Sarvajanik Sabha began its quarterly Journal under Mr. Ranade's guidance and the joint editorship of Shivrampant Sathe and Sitarampant Chiplunkar.

Calcutta had begun its Bibliotheca Indica and R. A. S's Journal from 1840. Bombay also had began a R. A. S's journal in the forties and in the seventies issued its Sanskrit series.

Mr. Pandit began his Vedartha Yatna, and Mr. Kunte his Chintanika.

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Mr. Vishnu shastri began his popular Nibandhamala.

Mr. Gopalrao Hari (afterwards R. B. and F. C. Sirdar) wrote his Agama and Nigama Prakashas, his separate essays, on 'variety of castes and their sub-divisions', 'different classes of priests and other persons living on alms, History of Guzerath, History of Oodepur, a separate history of Prithwiraj and many other books and translations.

Mr. Mandlik wrote his Hindu law in Marathi and Mr. Dadabhoy his views about the economical condition of India and unBritish administration.

A second edition of Mr. Forbes' annals of Guzerath was brought out by his friends at this time. The excellence of this book cannot be over estimated. From the highly coloured and superstitious accounts sung and stored by bards, from Jain legends and Brahminical books and from inscriptions and remains this gifted European gentleman has written a connected history of Gujrat extending over twelve centuries in a masterly style and with patriotism worthy of a born Guzerati scholar and statesman. The Guzerat vernacular society's magazine begun under his inspiration continues till this day; and under the patronage of the society many original books and translations of English and Sanskrit works have been written and published.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's Journal discussed with great ability for twenty years all current topics of politics and industrial questions and when the scheme of self government was first proposed by Lord Ripon's government the journal took a leading part in supporting that Government's views in 1884. The work done by the Bibliotheca and the journals, and the Bombay Sanskrit series is alike magnificent and useful. Both European and Indian Scholars are contributors in the journals The Bibliotheca owes its origin

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to the efforts of Taranath Tarkavachaspati and has published quite a heap of Sanskrit classics.

Mr. Pandit's Vedartha Yatna was continued till 1900 and Mr. Kunte's Chintanika till his death in 1889.

Mr. Pandit also edited some books in the Sanskrit series. Mr. Kunte wrote his "Vicissitudes of Aryan civilization" and won a prize in Italy.

Mr. Vishnu Shastri wrote his monthly Nibandhas in marathi which at once captivated the Marathi reading public by their grace and ability but his views are somewhat reactionary and often illogical and his style deteriorated too often into uncivil treatment of those whom he wanted to refute or ridicule.

Mr. Gopalrao's works are stores of learning good-will and good-sense. The industry with which he gathered information from every available source and gave it a readable form was his own peculiar gift. His historical anecdotes and scraps of useful knowledge show the encyclopaedic character of his work which was continued over a period of nearly half a century. His personality was such that the more one came to know it the more he admired it. Some of his observations have been quoted with approval by English and Marathi writers in various works for their terseness and truth.

I have now referred to the religious movements and intellectual activities which were either started or acquired force during the seventees.

I shall now refer to another fact of great national importance of the said period. A fairly large number of intelligent Indian youths began to return to India after qualifying themselves by examinations passed in England. Shripad Babaji passed the Civil Service. Krishnarao Deshmukh

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who had graduated in first class in the Bombay University arts' course was given the Government of India scholarship and Mr. (Late Sir) Mehta, Messrs Pandit and Deshmukh returned qualified as Barristers and Mr. Kanoba Kirtikar (now retired Colonel) came back qualified in the medical service. These names are mentioned only as examples. In Bengal also several men like Messrs Tagore and R. C. Dutt came back similarly qualified. But Madras and other provinces were not equally advanced in this respect. The careers of these men were watched with great interest by the whole Indian population and comparisons were made between their prospects and emoluments and those of men qualified for service and professions in India. Just at this time large Native States were opening a very lucrative field for the advancement of distinguished natives. Indore, Baroda, Hydrabad and Mysore all wanted men educated in English to be ministers, sub-ministers and even District officers in their states. Here again comparisons began to be made between the pay of and the powers exercised by men employed in the Native States and those in British India. Some men were taken by the States from British Indian services and some from professional ranks; the former were of course paid better and the latter too appeared to have gained in their incomes. It has already been stated that comparisons were made between the pay and position of men who came back qualified from England and those who rose from examinations in India and these comparisons were decidedly in favour of the former though in very exceptional cases such as appointments of High court judges, the balance was in favour of men appointed here. Hence arose a keen demand for simultaneous examinations. It was seen that men who came back qualified from England were in no way superior to some of those who were qualified here and there was absolutely no reason why

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the former should pose as a heaven-born class, be entitled to greater privileges and hold reserved posts. The injustice of this reservation which had been felt keenly for sometime past was now felt more keenly by the double comparison above referred to. It was necessary to do away with the reservation or with the examinations in England. Neither of these courses have been deemed practicable for forty years succeeding. A public service commission has recently closed its labours but it is bound to end in dis-appoint ment as the causes of the dis-appointment do not lie on the surface but deep in the social structure of India. It remains to be seen whether ten twenty or fifty years are required for India to be deemed fit for any radical change.

The seventies were also a period of great legislative activity. A great English jurist gave India for the first time a complete evidence act. The Criminal and Civil Procedure codes were revised. A Land-Revenue Code was for the first time introduced into the Bombay Presidency and the Decean Agriculturist Relief Act was in spite of adverse comments and opinions, passed setting a limit to interest enabling courts to go behind documents, inquire into the history of a contract and thus make greater use of equity in their decisions. This last legislation was deemed necessary as certain cultivators in the Poona and Ahmednagar Districts, who had been deprived of their lands by Marwarees through civil courts attacked the decree-holders and cut their noses and ears. A commision sat to enquire into these wrongs and it was upon their recommendation that this Act was passed by the Indian legislature.

It was also in the early seventies that the people of India especially those of the Bombay Presidency began

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to reflect on the advantages of protection over a complete free-trade system. It was found that the product of the English power loom had driven out that of the .Indian hand looms from the Indian market and the weaver class in India was in great straits. Government instead of enhancing import duties exempted from duty various kinds of cotton cloth. A Swadeshi movement came into existence. In Poona Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi a pleader was its leader. People were asked to wear only cloth manufactured in India and vows were taken by many men who believed in the economical advantages of the encouragement thus given to weavers. Naturally the feeling of sympathy for weavers was extended to poor classes generally and it was felt that much could be done for their improvement if pins, needles, buttons, chains, candles, matches &c were manufactured in India. This was possible if only people had sufficient strength not to purchase foreign articles. But manufactures did not grow as rapidly as was thought, inconveniences were felt, some said they could not do without watches and fine cloth or broad cloth suits when they had to attend courts; and vows were broken under some or other pretext. Mr. Joshi alone carried out his vow strictly to the day of his death and for his firmness or as some persons say eccentricity he is remembered to this day. I do not know whether he used a watch or not, but foreign cloth he did not wear on any occasion.

Ganesh Babaji Mate went about the country preaching Swadeshi through Kirtans i. e. quasi theological addreses which combining lyric songs are looked upon with great respect by people and which afford room for the display of all the great talents of an orator, poetic reciter and theologian This gentleman was also like Joshi a pleader. He

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belonged to Sholapur and has written a valuable book on pyrotechnics. What was preached in these seventies was a boycott system but there were no disturbances and no prosecutions as were witnessed in 1906 when as a protest against the partition of Bengal, the people of that province resolved to boycott foreign articles. and other provinces follwed suit. In 1876-77 there occured a great famine in southern India. This meant Madras Presidency and portion of the Bombay Presidency. There had been famine in Marwar and great flights of locusts seen in Gujerath one or two years before 1876; but the southern India famine was a great calamity. In fact this was the greatest famine since the commencement of British Rule and some economists called it a famine of money and not grain. There was no Southern Maratha Railway then, and great difficulty was experienced in carrying grain to affected areas away from Railway line. In fact it was this bitter experience that led to extension of Railway lines and this was only one example of good coming out of evil. The official view was that the calamity was due to drought and had nothing to do with the impoverishment of the people; further that this impoverishment had nothing to do with the British administration. These two views continued for a long time to be held persistently by advocates of the two parties but as some English rulers have during ten years past connected this view of impoverishment with political outrages political and industrial boycott and race-hatred no economist cares to discuss the economical side of it now. It was in the seventies also that a man named Wasudeo Balwant Fadke conceived a plan of establishing a kingdom with the aid of some Romoshi leaders. They committed dacoities in Poona, Satara and Kolaba districts. Military Force was sent out either for direct action or to relieve the police

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of jail and treasury duties and soon Phadke and the leaders were captured, tried and punished. The dacoities in Bengal after 1906 are another edition of what took place thirty years ago in the Bombay Presidency. This sort of patriotism was entirely discredited on this side though we have not seen the end of it yet in Bengal.

I have left out one sphere of progress in my references to intellectual activities. This relates to drama. From 1873 Sanscrit plays were acted by Hindu graduates and Under-graduates of colleges and Shakespearian plays by Parsee and European students in English. There were already professional companies performing in Marathi plays composed by Vishnudas from Maha-Bharat. The Sanskrit performances never became popular and can never be. A dead language cannot suit a living community for re-creation. It is only fit for serious study as a means of enriching the poor vernaculars. The operatic play was introduced by a gifted man named Annasaheb Kirlosker and his three plays so pleased the people that for some years other prose plays both Mahabharatan and Shakespearian which latter had been rendered in Marathi prose, and which were becoming popular, were as good as neglected. The taste created by Kirlosker led to the composition of other operatic pieces and it may be said generally even now that though prose plays have recovered some lost ground, they are far from commanding equal attention of the public.

What I have said above refers to the town-people. The villagers have an old institution called Tamasha, and this serves the purposes of play and drama. Young boys dressed as girls, from father to son, are trained by hereditary system in the art of Singing, Recital and Dance and some Tamashas reach a very high stage of art but the amusement

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is on the whole considered vulgar, and respectable people never go to see the performances. This vice of dressing boys to personate ladies is not confined to the Tamashas but is universal in the Indian Theatrical world. In Gujarath corresponding to the Tamasha of the Deccan there are companies of Bhawais and here too, it is the boys to whom it falls to personate ladies.

One can understand how, when there were no female graduates or under-graduates and when the plays were merely of amateur or academic character, Professors and Principals had to submit to the evil as in-evitable; but when it becomes the rule with professional companies the evil demands Government intererence to stop it. Some boys improve their status but many others spoil both their character and position in society and the immoral effect of this system as a whole appears to me to be so great that it will not be a moment too soon to declare it wrong Young boys require as much paternal care and protection as young girls and a civilised Government like the British ought not to allow amusements which have immoral tendencies and which certainly cannot be said to encourage manliness in young men for which no age is too early. A community ought to forego and Government ought to stop amusements which are inconsistent with this encouragement.

In 1874 occurred the memorable riots or unprovoked attacks by Mahomedans in Bombay on innocent and unprotected Parsee population. The riots were put down after some culpable delay. Twenty years after, similar attacks were made by Mahomedans upon Hindus but the former had mis-calculated their strength and mill-hands soon showed that they could more than defy the Mahomedan low classes.

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I must now conclude this brief description of the period beginning with the establishment of the universities and ending with the seventies and proceed to the events of the next two decades in another chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1880-1900

Clamorous demand for increased control by the educated classes.

Mr R. C. Dutt has in his excellent work "India in the Victorian age" dealt with many important questions affecting people's welfare and brought their history down to 1903. A few quotations from the book appear necessary. I have already quoted some of his opinions on the state of Ancient India.

In his able preface of 19 pages after mentioning the evils of British administration, he says "The evils suggest their own remedies. The excise tax on Indian Mill Industry should be withdrawn. The Indian Government should boldly help Indian Industries for the good of the Indian people as every civilized Government on earth helps the Industries of its own country. All taxes on the soil in addition to the Land Revenue should be repealed and regulated in its operation. The public debt unjustly created in the first instance is now an accomplished fact but an imperial guarantee would reduce the rate of interest and a sinking fund would gradually reduce its volume. Civil and Military charges incurred in England should be borne or at least shared by Great Britain as she shares them in the case of her Colonies. Civil charges in India

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should be reduced by a larger employment of Indians. Military charges in India should be repressed with a strong hand and India should pay for an army needed for her requirements. All further extensions of Railways from state loans or under guarantee of interest from the taxes should be prohibited. Irrigation works should be extended as far as possible from the ordinary revenues. The annual economic drain from India should be steadily reduced and in carrying out these fiscal reforms, Representatives of the people of India of the Tax payers who are alone interested in retrenchment in all countries–should be called upon to take their share and offer their assistance. " I shall now give a few other extracts to show what actually the British Government have done. Let us take the question of India's debt first. Mr. Dutt's account is as follows. " The total debt of India just before the mutiny in 1856–57 was 59½ millions and in the following year it rose to 69½ millions sterling. As the whole charge of mutiny wars was thrown on India the public debt in 1860 rose to over a hundred millions " × ×. On account of construction of state Railways from borrowed capital the debt increased rapidly from 1870. Money spent on irrigation works from borrowed capital was also added to this debt account and in 1876–77 it amounted to 139 millions. Mr. Dutt is of opinion that a hundred millions out of this debt is not justly due from India. The first 69½ millions, he thinks, claimed as tribute by the company from India was not justly due and cost of Imperial Wars in Afganistan, China, Persia and Abyssinia was not properly chargeable to India. These two items seem to make up the 100 millions. He thinks that with this reduction it would have been easy to free India entirely from National debt by gradually reducing the remainder. He says " Modern European nations create na-

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tional debts mainly to extend their conquests and colonies and to maintain their position among rival nations. India seeks no conquests; she has no rivals in Asia. Her position under a strong and good Government is invulnerable." In stead of this freedom from debt having been attained, it has largely increased after 1876 so that in 1901–2 it amounted to 226 millions; out of these 91 were borrowed in India and 134 in England. Like the debt, Indian expenditure and home charges have also gone on increasing and Mr. Dutt is of opinion that Government have not made use of Indian talent to find ways of reducing them.

He gives figures from statistical abstracts for India presented annually to both houses of Parliament for forty years. I only give them for three years from his book.

	Land Rev.	Gross Rev.	Expenditure in England.	Gross Exp.
1858–59	18,123658,	36060788,	7466136,	51056930.
1876–77	19857152,	55995785,	13467763,	58178563.
	Tens of Rs.	Tens of Rs.	Tens of Rs.	Tens of Rs.
1901–02	27432027,	114516788, or £ 76344525,	26052983,	107091423, or £ 71394282,

The details of the last amount are as follows in round figures.

Civil departments and charges in England and India. 15 Millions £

Army services ... ... 15 millions £

30

Home charges as follows:—

Interest on debt ... ... 3 Millions £

Interest & annuities on Railways state & guaranteed 6 „ £

Military charges ... ... 3 „ £

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Civil charges	...	...	...	...	2	„	£
Stores ...	...	...	...	...	2	„	£
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	2	„	£
					18		
Cost of Railway and Irrigation				...	23	„	£
Total...	...	...	...	...	71	„	£

The history of the question of retrenchment of expenditure both Indian and Home shows that though Laurence Mayo and Ripon attempted to retrench it, very little could be done; while Lords Lytton, Lansdown and Curzon were easily able to increase it. Through Mr. Dadabhoy's effort's mainly, the Welby commission was appointed in 1897 to suggest what proportion out of India's expenses should be borne by the English treasury. I ut even the commissions recommendation, poor as it was to put about 2½ millions on the English treasury, was not fully carried out.

I shall now give a few more passages from Mr. Dutt's book on three other questions viz. permanent Land Revenue settlement, Manufactures, and Employment of Indians in administration. "It will appear from the preceding narrative that the final rejection of the proposal of a permanent settlement of Land Revenue of India was due not to any new difficulties discovered in the course of the inquiries made but to a change in the spirit of the Government policy." The above refers to the Secretary of States despatch of 1883. Lord Ripon proposed that Land Revenue might be increased on increase of prices but on no other consideration. The Secretary of State in 1885 said that the state might claim its share in the unearned increment of the value of land, that rise in prices was one of the indif cations and measures of this increment and enhancement in revenue should be made on increase in the value o-

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land. Mr. Dutt says that this order did not clear up any point either to cultivators or settlement officers.

The chief article of manufacture which forms the subject of competition between England and India is cotton.

In pursuance to the wishes of the Lancashire people, the British House of Commons recorded in 1877 that the duties levied in India upon cotton Manufactures being protective in nature were contrary to sound commercial policy and ought to be repealed without delay as soon as the financial condition of India would permit it. The secretary of State asked the Government of India to consider it and some articles were exempted from duty but the Manchester chamber of commerce came forward and pointed out that the list of articles required to be materially added. The Secretary of State again wrote to the Government of India to consider the matter and Lord Lytton decided against the opinion of the majority of his councillors to exempt all imported cotton goods containing no yarn finer than 30s. His successor the Marquis of Ripon concluded the Afghan war, established peace and secured a surplus. And his finance minister Sir Evelyn Baring × × abolished the remaining import duties in March 1882 excepting those on salt and liquors. In 1894 a five percent advalorem duty was imposed on cotton goods, on all articles including cotton fabrics and yarns but a countervailing excise duty of 5 P. C. was at the same time imposed on yarns produced in Indian mills which competed with Lancashire yarns i. e. yarns above twenties. In 1896 the cotton duties Act was passed exempting yarns and authorizing the levy of a 3½ P. C. duty on the value of all cotton goods produced in Indian mills. Mr. Dutt speaking of this measure says "It im-

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posed an excise duty on all cotton goods produced in India. It taxed the coarse Indian fabrics with which Manchester had never competed and could never compete. It threw a burden on Indian Mills which competed with no Mills in Europe. It raised the price of the poor man's clothing in India without the pretext of relieving the poor man of Lancashire."

The last point is about the larger employment of Indians in administration and (I would say) in the army too. Though last this is the supreme question and almost insoluble. One European officer observed to me about 25 years ago that if the administration was to be British in character no larger employment of Indians than was then allowed was possible either in the civil or military grades. Ram Mohan Roy served in the eighteenth century under the Company's Government. There were distinguished men in service in the nineteenth century before the establishment of the Universities. After the establishment the supply has exceeded the demand. Indians began to be appointed as Deputy Collectors from the sixties, Collectors from nineties and now we have got even members in the executive council. But as you go higher and higher the number of Indians becomes extremely small, so small indeed that it may as well be left out of calculation and the experience of a hundred years convinces one that the observation of the European officer which gives the common English-folk view is correct. The late Sir Lee Warner's irreducible European Maximum means the same thing. The Congress has been asking for larger employment for twenty-nine years and for simultaneous examinations but boons have been conferred in such a sparing manner that the common-folk view and Lee Warner's view seem to speak the truth in spite of Congresses and

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Commissions and even orders of Parliament. Mr. Dutt looks at this question from the purely financial point and advocates larger employment of Indians to reduce cost of civil administration. It will thus appear that he leaves the question of Indians employment in the army entirely out of view either because he considers himself unqualified to deal with it or the object unattainable. This may be modest and prudent but the question affects large natio an interests.

Self Government was introduced by Lord Ripon in 1884 but it only meant introduction of the form of election for a certain number of members. Taluka and Municipal Committees existed even before. Eight years after, the Indian Councils were extended and again after eighteen years, they were further entended. No one can say that they are of much use.

The Congress assembled for the first time in 1885 in Bombay and has continued to sit every year in December in different places all over India. But no one can say that it has achieved much. Of course as a sphere of activity it enables bright men to come forward and gain public distinction. For the first ten years it was treated as a body hostile to Government. Even in Lord Curzon's time it was not allowed to send a deputation to wait on the Viceroy in person and present its demands in writing i. e. its series of resolutions covered by a letter.

From 1881 to 1895 there was comparative peace and prosperity in India and it was exactly during this period that a sort of conviction grew up that the British Government would never materially alter its ways of Government.

Mr. Crawford one of the commissioners in the Bombay presidency was tried before a European Commission

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for peculation and loans and was dismissed on the latter charge. It was a unique proceeding. The Government of India had to pass an Act protecting those who gave evidence as payors on the first charge, from being treated as participators in crime. The proceedings showed that European officers in very high positions were capable of resorting to mean practises and the decision had some salutary effect.

Many men of distinction died during these years. Dayanand Saraswati, Vishnu Shastri, V. N. Mandlik, Gopalrao Hari, M. M. Kunte; S. P. Pandit and others. Those who had seen the days of the mutiny in their manhood, almost, all passed away. Brahmo preachers travelled no more over India preaching theistic doctrines in English but many Swamis of other schools began to travel. Nitianand preached in the main Dayanand's doctrines. Vivekanand and Ramtirth preached Vedanta (Pantheism). Hans Swarup, refined orthodoxy. Two or three European ladies also went about preaching this last set of doctrines. Some men preached cow protection with zeal, collected funds and established farms for cows.

It was during these years that the world saw a great advance in science and industries. Bicycles, motor cars, telephones, gramophones, manufacture of synthetic dyes from tar, sugar from beet and other articles; safety matches, electric and other lamps, more powerful explosives than Gun powder, Guns and canons of longer range and quicker action than those thereto fore known, torpedoes and other weapons of naval warfare, may be all assigned to this period. Many students who considered themselves qualified to study mechanics, chemistry or art of war went to France, Germany, Japan and America and learnt what they

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could. One person attained great distinction in the South American army and rose to be a General there.

Political discontent, religious orthodoxy and industrial ambition were during this time simultaneously increasing in India. The close of the Hindu Mahamedan riots gave a great impetus to the Holi and Ganesh Festivals. Just after this came plague and famine of 1896–97. Mr. Nugent was in the Council of Bombay and it was his policy that prevailed during his life-time and for ten years after. He died in Poona in the closing year of the century. Though good at heart and very able some of his measures were unfortunately harsh. Detentions in journey, disinfection, segregations, evacuation of streets, house-searches by military parties created terror, lamentation, discontent and finally fanaticism. Many persons were prosecuted and sentenced, many more were arrested on suspicions, ill-treated and released. Any amount of property was burnt, any amount stolen and misappropriated. No one knew how things were going to end. As if these were not sufficient to trouble government the Boer war came and created a diversion in the employment of government's resources and energy. The rigour of examinations and searches was reduced; native agency was availed of for giving passes to travellers but when it was found that plague continued in spite of all measures, they were all one by one abandoned. Inoculation is now voluntary and evacuation also. There are no Railway examinations, no disinfections, no segregations but this wisdom came after half a dozen years of trouble and terror to the people. The discontent created by the harshness of the first measures has not altogether disappeared and there is discontent due to a variety of other causes also. One of these certainly is the disappointment of the middle classes to gain a wider share in the government

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of the country. Another equally certain cause is the failure of congresses and Royal commissions to obtain reductions in Home charges and Army expenditure or get England to bear a fair share in them. The poverty of the agricultural classes may also be a cause of discontent though it is certain the Bombay ryots are not in such a miserably helpless condition as Mr. Dutt's impression about the Madras and Northern India cultivators enables him to assert them to be in.

There was such a wide-spread desire of advance in industrial undertakings during the two decades under consideration that there should be no wonder if there was some discontent on the score that Government did not help it as much as, it was thought they ought to have. In one of his lectures on Economics Mr. Ranade says "The British Government in India has spent in Railways and canals four to five times as much [30 to 40 crores of Rupees are meant by much-five times 40 is therefore 200 crores] but so far from helping the country to be self-dependent in regard to its manufactures and commerce, it has only tended to increase our dependence on the single resource of agriculture to a much larger extent than before.

"The state as representing the public has a right and is under corresponding obligation to undertake all functions which it can best perform to public advantage.

"The construction of railways can never be compared in their educating influence to the setting up of mills or steam or water power machinery for the production of manufactured goods in all parts of the country. Now that the work of inter-communication has been well nigh completed, it seems to us that the time has come when government should turn a new leaf and venture upon a

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departure from its present received policy on the model of the culture system with suitable adaptation to Indian wants. "

Through the desire to start industries glass works were started in three places; one of them is at Talegaon near Poona. Soap and sugar factories and flour mills were started. One Mr. Namjoshi started a metal manufacturing Co. at Poona. It did not flourish under him but it is now working at some profit. Several Chitrashâlâs or picture and design Presses were opened and worked by steam or oil engines; one is at Poona, one at Karle and one at Ghat Cooper near Bombay. There may be many in other parts of India.

There is a paper mill at Mundhawâ and Mr. Dutt mentions many others but he has not said where. Mr. Ranade in his out-look of Indian manufactures mentions ten. Coal was found in many places. The Wardha and Hinganghat mines are best known on the Bombay side but the capital is European.

In the same way gold was found in Mysore but the capital here again is European.

Jute industry in Bengal is well known. Without doubt the most extensive industry is that of cotton mill. The following figures will show the growth of this industry. The first mill was started in Bombay in the fifties. In ten years the number rose to 13. In 1878, there were forty in all in the Bombay presidency but in 1891, this number rose to over ninety. In all India there were then about 139 mills; in 1901, this number increased to 193 and in the next ten yeare to 263.

The way in which religious orthodoxy among the Hindus has made progress alongside of this political and

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industrial movement was best exhibited when the orthodox party threatened to burn down the Congress Pandal in Poona in 1895, if the social conference to discuss social and religious questions was held in it. The same spirit made itself manifest when the age of the consent bill was to be passed in 1885 and at the time of a tea party in a Mission House in Poona in 1890. The temperance movement is partly religious and partly economic. After a lapse of nearly hundred years of British rule. in spite of University education, acquaintance and even friendship of Europeans, visits to Europe, America, Africa and the Far East, the Hindu Community has not yet decided to take water or cooked food freely from the hands of foreigners even when there is no question of the mixture of prohibited meat, eggs or liquor in it. It seems that total abstinence is regarded as the best rule as long as there can be suspicion or possibility of such mixture and hence members of respectable families on their return from foreign countries perform the Prayaschitta or expiation ceremony for having been obliged to violate the rule. Some persons do not perform this ceremony and try to ignore it but when they meet the orthodox phalanx, they submit to be segregated or avoid company. The rule as regards food among Hindus may generally be described as this:—that he must eat food cooked by men of his caste and no one else.

This brings in the question of caste and they are so various in India that volumes may be written for their description. Attempts were made from the year 1840 by Dadoba Pandurang in Bombay and Chatterjee in Bengal to abolish this inconvenience but seventy years have shown that such attempts must fail in India. There are clubs, halls, societies which do not observe caste distinctions but these are only private institutions. No formal or authoritative rule

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has been passed by a recognized head of a community that they need not be observed. What applies in the matter of food applies, a fortiori, in the matter of marriages and they are almost always celebrated within the caste of the parties. Failure of individal men, Samajas and conferences to bring about reforms has, as it were, emphasized the old rules and made them inexorable.

After food and marriage comes the third great question of a Hindu's religion and that is emancipation of soul and in this matter the doctrines of the Gita seem to hold the field. The essence of these doctrines is that one should do his duties in the world only so far as may be imperatively necessary; otherwise his main endeavour must be to look as little as possible to the vanities and work of the world. One honoured Sanskrit writer says of the way of life of sages that they cultivated learning in order to acquire a knowledge of first principles, preserved wealth to perform sacrifices, lived for penance and led a married life for con tinuation of race. Buddhists and Jains discarded both sacrifice and marraige but ordinary people were allowed to pay attention to the affairs of the world so far as it was imperatively required and adopted the Hindu's view of duty of life as a fair and reasonable compromise between a too sensuous and too rigid course of existence. With this rule of life India has passed through, about, 2500 years. There have been exceptional periods but again and again the old philosophy has reasserted itself. If it may be said that there was no Gita at the begining of that remote period still I may say, the same views obtained in the Upanishads, Darshanas and Brahmanas and there would be no difficulty to find them to have dominated the Hindu mind even then. It is to the consequences of this national disposition, this tendency or rule of life to which a man like the late J. M. G. Ranade

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seems to me to refer in the following and many other similar passages in his speeches. "We need only walk through our streets and study the most superficial aspects of our economic situation and the fact forces itself upon us that we are a people of little resources. Many millions among us scarcely earn a couple of annas a day. Many millions more are always underfed and live on the borderland of famine and slow death into which the failure of a single monsoon precipitates them. Of course this condition of things is not of yesterday and is not the result of solely foreign conquest and competition. It is an old, a very old inheritance. If we feel it more keenly now, it is because we are being roused from the sleep of ages and our eyes have learnt to see and our ears to hear." But there are men of venerable and incurable learning whom it is impossible to convince that it is the preference of heaven in our philosophy to the affairs of the world which has ruined the nation and must be abandoned. They will say that the Vedanta philosophy is quite consistent with the most laborious performance of the world's duties though you may find their own ancestral lands, wells and houses neglected. Another observation of Mr. M. G. Ranade which makes a plain reference to our faults, the faults of our social system the creation of our religion and philosophy deserves mention. He says "After all, state help is a subordinate factor in the problem" (the problem here referred to is the use of Natural agents in manufactures). "Our own exertion and our own resolutions must conquer difficulties which are chiefly our own creation."

I shall now call attention to one great economical fact about India and then close this chapter. This fact is its income per head of population. In comparison with many

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countries it is low. In comparison with that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland it is much lower.

In India it is 30 Rs. or 40 Shillings a year. In the United Kingdom of great Britain it is 42 £ a year. The taxation in India is 4 s. 8 d. on 40 Shillings. The taxation in the United Kingdom is 3 £ 10 S. on 42 £.

The obvious conclusion is that India is a poor country and taxation higher in proportion. It is my object to show that social order and rules are responsible for this low income and religion and philosophy are responsible for the order and rules. Unless a change in that order and rules takes place industrial and economical advance is bound to be slow.

Beggars form a large proportion of the population and they reduce the total income. There is again a large unproductive expenditure in the country; thirdly much time is devoted to unproductive work and reading. It must be obvious that as the number of unearning classes is larger, the total income must fall proportionately. In the same way as the unproductive expenditure may be larger, the margin of capital available for productive industries must be narrower. Thirdly, the greater the abuse of time in unproductive reading and contemplation the less must be the number of scientific discoveries and inventions or the bulk of work useful to society. Suppose a society which does nothing but offer prayers and charitably feed people. Will such a society ever invent anything? Of course it must cultivate land in order to have grain for feeding and cloth to preserve modesty but it need no do anything else. India has been exactly such land for centuries. It did not care to cross its natural

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boundaries of land or water. In fact, it put a bar on it. It looked down upon a study of foreign languages and arts. It had its poets, physicians, architects and mathematicians, but religion and philosophy prevailed over every thing and paralyzed progress. Of such a community disturbed by Mahomedan and European conquerors, the following description may not perhaps appear untrue an I give it as it comes from a very learned pen.

" The social and political life of India is like a ocean that has long been swept and lashed by storms following each other in too rapid succession. The heavig and the long swell which ensue after such evets may cause some to think that the national agitation as tno wholly subsided. There will always be those whose plse throbs at the anticipation of coming tempest and tho wait expectantly for disturbance like the stormy ptrel in its flight hangs too over the rising waves. But the mass of the teeming Indian population desire nothin so much as that sort of repose which they enjoy unde the strong, mild and just rule of England where every man gathers in quiet the fruits of his toil, is not forced to render up his goods against his will, sleeps without fear of violence, has redress for wrong done him by hi neighbour, performs his religious rites and follows hi caste observances undisturbed and lifts up his eyes towals the state as to a father. "

CHAPTER V.

OLD DISAPPOINTMENTS TO THE FORE AGAN.

(1900–1915).

In this chapter, I shall try to give the principal facts of the last fourteen years, show connection betweer political

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Ram Mohanroy.

Ramesh chandra Da't.
First competative C. S.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Lord Reay.

Dadabhoy Nowrojee.
First Indian M. P.

Sirdar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh. Civilian 1862. Had two pensions civil & political.

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Justice M. G Ranade.

Justice K. T. Telang.

Lord Harris.

Krishnarao Deshmukh.
First Brahmin Barrister.

Dr. Kirtikar.
First Indian Medical Servant.
after Gopal Jayakar.

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Lord Reay.

(Ex-Governor of Bombay)

Extracts from farewell address to Lord Reay by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha April 1890.

The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute which from foundation to crown is your Lordship's work × × will always remain as the noblest memorial in this Presidency of your Lordship's rule.

Your exertions in the interests of justice and administrative purity as also your efforts to dissuade the Secretary of State from violating the guarantee given by your Lordship's Government to the Mamlatdar witnesses in the Crawford case will furnish the most luminous pages of (the history of your reign).

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Lord Harris.

(Ex-Governor of Bombay.)

Extracts from Poona S. S. Journal April 1895 relating to Lord Harris.

It is instructive to contrast the feelings with which the Anglo-Indian and Native communities respectively regarded the departures of Lord Reay and Lord Harris from India. The termination of Lord Reay's term of office was hailed with almost open delight by the great bulk of the Anglo-Indian officials in this Presidency. Lord Harris on the other hand departed amidst tokens of deep and genuine regret on their part

× × × ×

But with the native community this measure of regard was exactly reversed.

× × × ×

The native Press with one accord gave fitting expression to the regret of the people at his Lordship's (here Lord Reay is referred to) departure. On the other hand it is but the barest truth to say that the termination of the administration of Lord Harris was welcomed by the Native community with a sigh of relief.

× × × ×

The positions of the two camps have thus become definitely marked and it is now distinctly felt by the Anglo-Indian officials that every step gained by us in the struggle is one lost by them.

× × × ×

The conflict though deplorable is perhaps inevitable.

× × × ×

We gladly acknowledge that during his reign love of sports and healthy games and exercises received great stimulus but we do not know how far this encouragement was due to any deliberately planned policy on the part of his Lordship's Government. Some of his opponents also were worthy of all praise notably the appointment first of the late Mr.....and after him of..... as Vice-chancellor of the University, the appointment of Mr.....to the High court and appointment of Mr.....to act as Collector of Sholapur.

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discontent, religious orthodoxy and industrial ambition and suggest reforms.

The principal facts are the close of the Boer war, rise of the liberal ministry in England; start of boycott, Swadeshi and bomb outrage in India, resort to repression, government's reforms, King's visit and European war. Though the Boers were defeated they got their own Government subject to British control. Unequal and oppressive treatment was given to the Indian settlers and labourers and it was with great difficulty that some compromise was lately arrived at.

The rise of the liberal ministry reduced the power of the House of Lords, introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill and initiated financial and religious reforms comprised in the old age Pension Bill, Labourer Insurance Bill and Welsh Church Disestablishment.

In India the boycott movement led to much oppression of the boycotters. Honest Swadeshi activities came in disrepute by connection with it. The use of force and violence instead of persuation brought the whole work into disgrace and exposed the workers to the perils of the criminal law and oppressive treatment of the police. Bomb outrages made government lose all further patience. Some outrages were committed with revolvers and some with bombs and it seems that these new means of destruction have become a permanent part in the assassin's outfit and there is no knowing who may fall in what way and on what day by his hand.

Government speedily passed repressive laws and orders, and it could not be said that the proper boundary of such measures was overshot. In this matter opinions vary.

The King's visit in 1911 was a unique event as no reigning King of England had up to that time visited this

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country and every proceeding connected with his Majesties tour, speeches and entertainments passed off in the most auspicious manner, This was highly creditable to the Indian subjects.

Government's reforms consisted in further extension of the councils, appointment of Indian executive members and reversal of the partition of Bengal. The seat of the viceregal government was changed to Delhi at the same time. The extension of the council is good, so far as it goes, but the appointment of executive members should not be made by nomination by Government. If the measure is meant as a concession to popular rights it is obvious that* the selection should be left to some popular electorate to be constituted in the manner suggested later on under reforms. The reversal of the partition of Bengal has gone a great way in reconciling the people of Bengal. The transfer of the seat of Indian government to Delhi has dissatisfied some European commercial classes but the war which has commenced since August 1914 has hushed up every small and great question and further consideration must be left to the future. It is unlikely that the reversal will be reversed or the change of seat of government will be changed again.

I shall now proceed to an analysis of parties into which at present society appears to be divided as that may help the due appreciation of the reforms which I have suggested at the end of this chapter.

The first thing to remark about India is that it is not only highly religious (i. e. afflicted with suffering

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* England's case is different. There the whole Got. (House of commons) is elected.

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here and taught to look for relief in Heaven) but steeped in religious superstition and orthodoxy. What is meant by superstition and orthodoxy ? Briefly stated the answer would be that superstition substitutes god's agency and will in place of man's in every matter in the world and refuses to interrogate nature to find her laws. This is the Puranik religion and forms the current faith in India. Transmigration, Government of Karma, efficacy of Shraddha ceremonies, incarnation and idol worship, devotion or faith and repetition of God's name, asceticism or withdrawal of attention from the world, caste system, prohibitions of certain kinds of food and travel to foreign countries are some of its fixed doctrines.

Though many European writers and as many Indian have written about the unreasonableness or undesirability of some of these doctrines, no community has decided that non-observance of the prohibitions regarding food or caste rules and non-performance of Shraddha ceremonies would not involve loss of a Hindu's legal rights or his social status, and seccured King's sanction No new community has consequently been evolved and in spite of Brahmo and Arya Samajes, the mass of society remains where it was 1500 years ago i. e. the time of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. In such religious condition and mental soil, free doctrines of political science have been planted. Peoples rights, Parliamentary institutions, limitations on the absolute powers of the sovereign, the people's control over finance, administration, justice and even army—these ideas can certainly not be traced to Mahâbhârat and Râmâyan as clearly as to Hallam, Macaulay or Green. Political advancement is a very attractive subject but it is very difficult to cast away religious orthodoxy. Consequently a long gradation of parties has come into existence from zealous reformers to zealous

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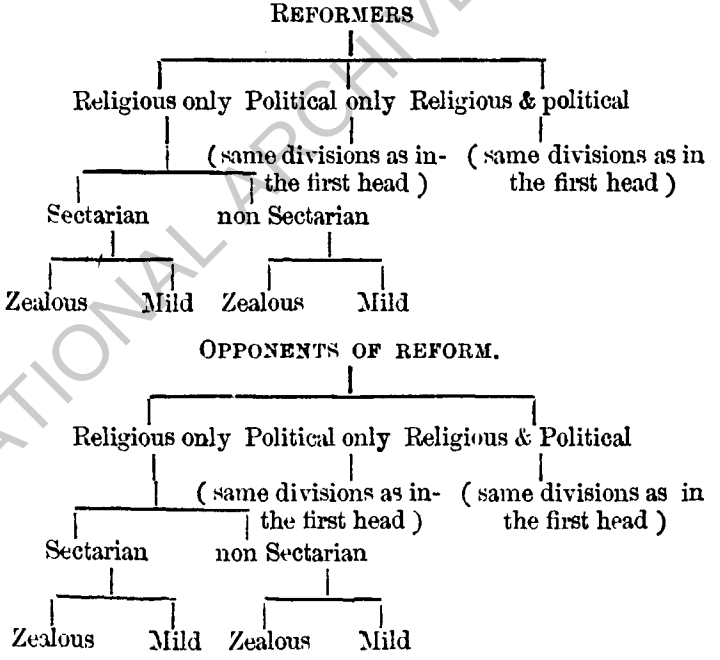
opponents of reform either religious, political or both, sectarian or non-sectarian, zealous or mild.

This Division makes twenty-four parties as shown on the next page. It exists clearly among the educated classes. The uneducated classes do not care much for reform or opposition and are ready to follow those whom they consider to be men of sound principles. The effect of disappointments felt by some political reformers was seen in their increased orthodoxy in religion. This is the origin of the well-known reactionary party and accounts for its growth. It decreased the number of religious reformers but not that of political ones.



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Industrial progress cannot be kept separate from religion at pleasure. Bone manure factory and leather or sugar factories with use of animal substances in their manufacture will not attract all classes equally and silk cultivation will certainly not attract a Jain. Preserved animal substances and their essences as also wines, liquors and beer are matters of absolute prohibition among certain classes and of course they will not much favour such industries. Consequently there will have to be a kind of assortment of classes and industries and to some extent, both must suffer.

This consideration of relations between religious opinions and political and industrial questions may help the reader to understand the nature and practicability of the reforms necessary for satisfaction of the people and their material and moral progress.

These reforms are about five in number. The first thing is to divide India into linguistic divisions for administration. Thus instead of having provinces with four different languages in one Presidency like Bombay there will be only one language for one administrative unit. All the Marathi speaking districts will be put in this division and called Maharashtra. If one Division will be too unweildy, there may be two for one language. All the Guzarati speaking districts will similarly be put in one Division or more as the area or population may require and called Guzrat. In this way there will be about ten or twelve Divisions of the whole of India and the governing heads of each such administrative area will be in correspondence with the head of the whole of India. Sind, Punjab, Hind, Carnatic and Tamil Country will thus all have separate Provincial Govenments. The solidarity and progress consequent upon such division will be apparent to the

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most cursory thinker. Already for some time such a scheme has been under the consideration of some Native gentlemen but I am not aware of any written book in which such a reform has been seriously advocated. As I consider it a very necessary step for force and unity of action, I have given it the first place in my humble suggestions.

The next reform is, that self government should be a real concession and not a mere sham, an empty dignity without work power and emolument. The power of a Patil to punish thefts upto Rs two or of a village Munsif to decide suits upto Rs ten and Local Board membership are mere shadows of power. No one can set much value on them. There should be Boards for dispoesal of work now done by Mamlatdars and Sub-judges. The appointments of men should be by election for two, three or five years as may be considered best. The introduction of these boards can only be gradual, the more advanced Talukas being chosen for experiment first and then the less advanced and so on as the system becomes known and appreciated. The appointment should carry a salary or fees with it. This will remove the necessity of having the present number of Mamlatdars and Subordinate judges in the Districts in which it may be found possible to constitute the Boards. After creating a model in one or two Talûkas extension may be left to popular demand. Powers of Collectors and Judges can be bestowed on Dist Boards to be similarly constituted. One or two model Districts can be created and extension left to popular demand.

Thirdly, in whatever positions European agency may be necessary, it should be imported from the mother country for proved fitness in service. The importation of young men after competetive tests or at the end of College careers

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should entirely cease. Having so many Colleges in India and such a very limited demand for employment any importation of raw and inexperienced people from Great Britain and Ireland or any other European country is quite unnecessary. This importation is a great cause of discontent at present and no repressive legislation can remove the latter as long as the former continues. The importation is unjust first to the men by whom Universities and Colleges were founded, secondly to the youths who study in them and thirdly to the nation which ought to receive the full benefits of the institutions. When all Indian appointments will be, unreservedly and in fact, thrown open to men passing in India the great efflux of students now undergoing hardships of European journey and stay in foreign countries will cease to a great extent. At present it is giving so much trouble to the students, to the college authorities at home and even to the Secretary of State and his Indian adviser, that any steps which can even partially check it ought to be welcome to all parties. There is no more efficient step for the purpose than the one I have advocated above. Government can find any number of good youths in this country of whatever good character and intelligence they may want. They need not bring a single youth from home. They may bring any number of men of proved fitness in service for whatever post they may consider them necessary. In ten years not a shred of the present discontent will remain but probably nothing may be done for a hundred years. Five commissions may be appointed. Each commission may recommend one more Collector's or one more Judge's appointment to be thrown open to the increasing ambition and demands of Natives. Both discontent and repression will continue growing till sympathy help and co-operation become impossible. Of course it would be most fortunate if these

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ominous prognostications were to be found false and perfect harmony prevail though the history and changes of the last forty years do not afford much ground for such a hope.

Fourthly with regard to the employment of European agency in India, it has struck me that this agency ought to be preserved as pure as possible. It should be a rule that European officers should never sign drafts prepared by office establishments. They may very well sign fair copies prepared by clerks but original drafts important or not should invariably be in the officer's own hands. When this rule will be adopted the establishments will naturally be reduced to the smallest possible size. Whatever powers can be delegated to Natives, they should be entirely left to them and never require European officer's approval. To combine European and Native agency in one and the same office is a most degrading system. The European remains the nominal head. Virtually all powers are exercised by their native subordinates.

In inspections and examinations of offices these establishments should absolutely take no part. If the European officer is not able to read records he should either learn it or have them read to him in his office but no Native subordinates should be allowed to do things in place of the European officer. If a Native officer is to be allowed to do any thing, he should be allowed to do so on his own responsibility without requiring any European officers sanction or signature. The more this rule is truly and strictly observed, the more pure will be the European control and more extensive the sphere of work for Natives. At present the examinations carried on by half a dozen Native subordinates in the European officers name become very troublesome and debasing and often times, if not always, a source of corruption.

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The fifth reform is retrenchment of work in itself and by increase of trust. At present officers go on tour to trouble a lot of people and help no one. Again they go because they are required to, not because they have really any thing to do. Again these tours are too prolonged and taken up twice or thrice over the same ground. This system should be abandoned. Routine test inspection by more than one grade of officer should be entirely given up. Visits to places should be paid only if parties apply for or the officer thinks them necessary himself for decision of an application, dispute or correspondence or for acquiring information or for any other definite purpose.

The present system of tests of waste land, crop inspection, revenue payments and maintenance of boundary marks is so multifold that it would appear that work was done because there were officers and not that officers were appointed because there was work. The test goes on from a General Duty Clerk to a Commisaioner, as if no one was to be trusted finally or no one had enough other important work to do. From this it will appear clear that there is at present quite a vast bulk of useless and fruitless work done and quite a vast superfluity of officers for it. If the performance of mere hum-drum work is given up and trust increased, administration will be simplified and be less expensive. There should be only one compulsory test.

In criminal work there should be no committing magistrates. Only one court of inquiry and trial. This intermediate court of inquiry only leads to delay contradictions, retractions and trouble.

In the same way there should not be double records one by officer and one by clerk. If the officer can write in the language of the Dist. he should write in that

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language. If he can not he should write in English. Instead of causing waste of time and money on such a vast scale as at present, appellate courts can have records read to them when they are in vernacular and when they cannot read them themselves.

In writing of reforms, the question of admission into the army, of natives of all castes cannot be left out unnoticed. Though there are racial characteristics and habits as well as climatic and religious influences on classes and castes, there is no caste which may not boast of its heroes or on the other hand, have to admit unwarlike spirit of some of its members. The difference is in proportion but, absolutely, no condemnation of whole classes and castes can be just. Therefore on proper qualifications being found, admission in army must be open to every class. No posts should be reserved for any class but every thing should depend on qualifications. That ought to be the governing spirit of the twentieth century much more strongly if it was that of the preceding one.

This brings to a close my suggestions for reforms. They all relate to administrative economy. Mr Dutt's reforms are all mostly financial, Mr. Ranade's are industrial, Mr. Gokhale's educational, Mr. Bhupendranath's and Dadabhai's social. Each side has its importance and must have its ardent advocates. The great mass of the Indian public is addicted to the laissez faire policy in social and religious matters believing that this country has got the best philosophy, the best social habits and the best theology. Though this constitutes the chief obstacle to India's progress in politics or industries, the educated orthodox leaders have for the last forty years encouraged and promoted this notion of

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India's great perfection in religion as a very useful asset for the same purpose—progress, in politics and industries. They regarded amalgamation of European and Indian races impossible and therefore also all real sympathy between them. The educated reformer class agreed in the first proposition but strongly opposed the second. Many European writers have consciously and unconsciously supported the educated orthodox class in their opinion that real sympathy between European and Indian races is impossible. Administrative conservatism, financial injustice, unjust decisions or undue severity in decisions in cases between Europeans and Natives or in cases involving question of allegiance to the crown, poverty, famine and plague are all cited to prove the impossibility. The reformers not only have their own independent longer list of benefits derived from British rule in India to prove the existence of real sympathy but further contend that the orthodox list of evils is in great need of modification that some of the items are false, some partially true, some dictated by over—caution and only some due to self interest, itself forced and inevitable. This war of opinions is going on in India for nearly forty five years just as the Irish question is going on for pretty same time and a century more between Conservatives, Unionists and Liberals. There is however a great difference between Ireland and India in their condition and therefore equally great difference between the issues. Quite apart from the great geographical distance of this country and its difference in language and religion, the bulk of population here is indifferent towards politics and industries, is deeply superstitious and religious, is divided beyoud calculation by languages, castes and creeds and knows only to take interest in the annual round of religious festivals, music, dance of real or

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personated females and wrestling. The educated orthodox classes and leaders believe with the masses that India's greatness is in her old religion and philosophy, in her castes and simplicity of life, that a too ardent desire of money deteriorates the moral man, that over-competition destroys contentment in short that over-civilization is an equal if not a greater evil than a too primitive and simple life. The position becomes partially at least if not wholly anti-progressive in both politics and industries but no such result is admitted and it remains to be seen how India can attain, preserving her old religion and habits, political and industrial greatness. The educated reformer class is a very small minority. Having no reformed Hindu Law, to guide their step and define their status, they have to caste their lot with the masses and, nolens volens, adopt their tastes and manners. In this reformer class though small, there seem to be as many divisions as there are castes in India. Some say they are not doing any thing new but only leaving out certain bad customs. Is that nothing new? They condemn idolatry, revelation and caste system. Yet they think, it is nothing new. Such is simplicity ! Such greatness ! In their simplicity they only deceive themselves, in their greatness, talk, what they think, sweet things. Some persons will adopt change in dress but some will stick to the old fashioned nakedness at dinners. Some will dine openly with Europeans but will oppose the Civil Marriage bill. Some will stick to vegetarian diet but will approve of the bill. Some will oppose both change in diet or marriage law. Some will approve of widow marriage but stick to Shraddha ceremonies as necessary. In fact there is hardly any common family of beliefs for which a large number of supporters can be claimed. Hence the cause of

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reform has hitherto failed and may not succeed beyond what the Brahmo and Arya Samajas have done unless some set of reformers draw up a Code and secure regal assent to it for regulation of affairs of a class to be denominated United or Neo-Hindus to distinguish them from superstitious Hindus.

To some it may appear that my statement of reforms is dogmatic and does not consider and answer objections but I am of opinion they will be found to be already sufficiently answered in papers like the Patrika, Kesari and India. Further it is hardly time to enter into serious discussion while it is entirely uncertain what reforms may be approved of by the Public or by Government. Thirdly the present war has solved one great difficulty about the supposed danger to British rule from free promotion of Indians in civil and military services. Therefore it has seemed to me unnecessary to anticipate and answer objections and make the treatment of the matter more elaborate if not prolix.

CHAPTER VI.

In this chapter I am giving (*a*) some statistical information for 1912–13 (not previously given) from Government authorized publications, (*b*) some opinions of well known authors and others which may be found interesting as they relate to important Indian matters and (*c*) some general reflections including an examination of the doctrines of the Geeta.

Beginning, with debt the Statistical Abstract for 1912–13 gives it as 93 millions in India and 178 millions in England or 271 millions in all or about 45 millions more than in 1901–2 (see figures given in chapter IV) Interest on debt

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7 millions in 1903–4 and 9 millions in 1912–13. Gross revenue 86 millions in 1912–1913. Expenditure 83 millions in 1912–13 or a rise of 10 millions in revenue and 12 in expenditure in eleven years.

Figures of import and export sea and land trade are as below in round figures in millions of £s.

1903–04		199 Sea	7 Land
1912–13		323 „	13 „
		Export	Import
1903–04	Sea	112	87
	Land	3	4
1912–13	Sea	171	152
	Land	6	7

Population	Bombay Pres.	Total B. Territory	Native states.
Reduced to round figures of lakhs.	196	2400	700
Area in sq. miles in round figures of thouds	123	1000	700

This population of 31 crores in all India is thus distributed in religion in decimal round figures.

Old Brahmanic faith	2170 Lakhs.
Arya Samajists	2 „
Brahmos	5 thousand
Jains	12 lakhs
Sikhs	30 „
Buddhists	107 „
Parsis	one „
Mahamedans	666 „

These figures are eloquent evidence of (1) the firm hold which the old Hindu faith has upon the bulk of the Hindu population (2) the faint impression which both Arya and Brahmo Samajes but particularly the latter Samaj have produced on the masses (3) the difficulties which

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exist in the path of reform (4) the impediments which reactionists are prone to throw in its way to deprive it of success and (5) the necessity of more sustained efforts, better organized and sanctioned procedure to secure sympathy and approval of the masses.

Mr. Webb C. I. E. (Author of 'Advance India') writes:— " One of India's important needs and legitimate ambitions at the present day is industrial expansion × × These needs and ambitions can be met by modifications of the Indian customs Tariff which whilst not adversely affecting British interests would materially assist India's foreign and internal trade. "

" It is sometimes thought by rigid free traders in the United Kingdom that England can continue indefinitely to impose her free import policy on India. This is a grave misapprehension. Sooner or later, probably sooner, India's Tariff will have to be modified in accordance with the views of India's industrial and political leaders. Those views unanimously favour protection against all competition if possible but in any case protection against the competition of those countries who handicap or exclude the importation of India's manufactured articles. "

The above extract is from the Indian year book by Mr Stanty Reed, issue for 1915 and shows the latest phase of the tariff question known as the Imperial preference. The following is from the same book and gives some idea of the non-Aryan religions in India and their earliest dates.

" India is a land of many religions. All the great religious faiths of mankind are represented in its population by communities whose origin carries us back to the early history of their respective creeds. Hinduism and its offshoots Buddhism and Jainsim are autochthonous. The Jews of

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Cochin have tradition which carry back their arrival on the coast to the time of their escape from servitude under Cyrus in the sixth century B. C. The Syrian Christians of Malabar ascribe the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of their original church to the apostle St. Thomas in 52 A. D. Nearly two centuries before the followers of Mahamad obtained a footing in India as conquerors, a peaceful trading colony of Arabs had settled on the Malbar Coast. The Parsi settlement in Guzrat dates from about the same period. These facts are recalled here because not only Europeans but even educated Indians speak as if the first foreign settlement in India was that which followed Mahomedan conquest and that Christianity was first brought into the country by the Protuguese. They also dispose of another erroneous idea that upto the time of the Mahamedan conquest, Hinduism absorbed all the foreign elements which found their way into the country. No doubt Greeks. Bactrians and Scythians were so absorbed into the structure of Hinduism but the fact that the Jews, the Syrian, Christians and the Parsis have remained distinct from Hinduism shows that this was not the case universally. Regarding beliefs of Hinduism, the author makes some edifying observation. He says " On the whole however, the Hindu socio-religious scheme, owing to its tendency to make the individual human being a passive instrument in the hands of the higher power instead of an active co-operator with it, has favoured stability at the expense of progress. " Also " It has been the great misfortune of Hinduism that the path of service has come to mean the path not of altruistic service to mankind but the path of service conceived in a ceremonial sense to priests, religious recluses and mendicants and to idols. It is the great aim of the modern reform move-

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ments such as the Brahmos and Arya Samajes to rescue the path of service from this spurious interpretation and to make altruistic social service an integral part of religion." But how little have these movements pleased or attracted the people! How few even of the English-educated classes!,

One English writer says "The disruptive influence of caste to which the Marathas paid strict attention maintained a separation which was fatal to common action whether in the field or in the council and they resented internal reforms and intrusion of improvements from abroad". Here though the words field and council are of political significance the word caste has unmistakable social and religious import. The disruptive influence is now seen in congress platforms, industrial concerns and official patronage. The influence is not generally direct but very indirect from consequences and associations arising in spite of caste differences. It was so in the field and Council. The resentment against reforms and improvements referred to by the writer, quoted above is also an important national fact. While a nation believes that its errors are not errors but treasures which no one should be allowed to touch or reduce it is impossible that there can be much radical change. It must be clear again that it is impossible for the laws of Manu and Yajnavalkya's times to suit the ideals of the twentieth century without passing through any change but this is not the view of the orthodox patriots. To the disruptive influence of caste, we have therefore now the disruptive influence of the orthodoxy of English-educated people added.

I shall now give some opinions of great English writers referring to causes of Indias' national break-down. Mr, Robert Orme is the first. He has written about one hundred pages giving his idea about the Government of Hindustan

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He calls Indians very effeminate and attributes it to the influence of the climate. There is indeed great truth in this but this influence is not unavoidable. Shivajee was born in the same climate, Bajee Rao I, in the same and Mr. Orme's own account of the first great man shows how this influence could be got over. I give Orme's account about Sivajee. It is only a paragraph of it. For a longer description I would refer my readers to the original book " Shivajee possessed all the qualities of command. Every influence howsoever latent was combined in his schemes which generally comprehended the option of more than one succeess ; so that his intention could rarely be ascertained and when accomplished did not discover the extent of its advantages until developed by subsequent acquisitions. In personal activity he exceeded all Generals of whom there is record; for no partizan appropriated to the services of detachments alone ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril howsoever sudden and extreme with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude. The ablest of his officers acquiesced in the eminent superiority of his genius and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging sword in hand. Thus respected as the guardian of the nation he had formed he moved everywhere amongst them with unsuspicious security and often alone ; whillst his wiles were the continued terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity even in the midst of their citadels and armies. Whensoever we shall obtain a history of his life written by his own countrymen he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest resources of strategem ; joined to undaunted courage which although equal to the encounter of any danger always preferred to surmount it by circumvention which if impracticable no arm exceeded his in open daring. Gallantry

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must lament that it should have been once stained by the blood of assassination."

Mr. Mill says "It appears extraordinary that though a great proportion of the population was devoted to the business of war with nothing to do but to improve its principles and acquire dexterity, India should have given way to every invader."

Orme thinks that India's military art was very rude Prof. H. H. Wilson says that the unfortunate course of the military history of India is attributable more to want of union and mutual dissentions than any deficiency of skill or valour.

Mr. Forbes whose work has been referred to in a previous chapter says referring to Prithwiraj's defeat and slaughter by Shahbuddin Gori. "A long time had intervened since the power of the Mahomedan had been proved by the capture of Somanath but wholly untaught by stern experience, his destined victims had neglected to erect against him any barrier and had in reality prepared the way for his approach by fratricidal contests.

"Guzrat, Malwa, Delhi, Sambhur Kanoj were alike weakened by intestine struggles and poisoned against each other by mutual victories and defeats whose only permanent result was to render impossible any true-hearted union."

Mr. Robert Sewell who has written about the history and fall of Vijaynagar quotes an Italian visitors description of the year 1420. I give it below to show what luxurious habits kings in India had acquired making every allowance for a foreigners want of information and misapprehension.

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"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12000 wives of whom 4000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the services of the kitchen. A like number more handsomely equipped ride on horseback. The remainder are carried in litters of whom 2000 or 3000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death, they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered a great honour for them."

Paes a Portuguese writer of a century later brings down the number to twelve lawful wives but this leaves the question of concubines open.

Not only does the above extract show fearful prevalence of luxury but also of the evil of concremation, that darkest spot in the Hindu social life removed by the valiant Raja Ram Mohun with Bentinck's help.

Mr, Mills great work makes refarence to another weak point-the prevalence of ritual in Hindu Social life. He says volumes can be written to depict the large ritual which engrosses the life of India. In another place he says " despotism and priestcraft taken together, the Hindus were the most enslaved portion of humanity in mind and body.',

I am not aware, of any great, writer who has referred to the growth (1) of asceticism. (2) of the disregard of the world, society and family.' (3) of beggary and indolence as causes of the nation's downfall. Mr. Stanley Reed does indeed make reference to the absence of altruistic service in Ceremonials as a misfortune of Hinduism but this is only a part of the evil, a part of the harm. The real evil and harm are both far greater. Asceticism, beggary and

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indolence virtually mean national decay. They are inconsistent with (1) a passionate love of the world (2) promotion of arts and sciences (3) cultivation of frendship (4) ceaseless toil for securing justice to all. The view of the Indian orthodox patriots is not this. They hold on the contrary, that struggle for existence, luxury and war are the greatest evils and if a choice is to be made asecticism and indolence would be preferable to luxury and war. This preference has already lasted for three thousand years in India and may last a thousand years more if orthodox patriotism does not flinch. This preference has formed the central doctrine of Indian philosophy and literature Preachers have dwelt on the glory of this doctrine when preaching in other countries and economists and statisticians have tried to show that while other nations have been swept off the face of the earth the Hindus have managed to escape such catastrophe and this fact is held to be the best proof of the excellence of the doctrine. Many uninformed men are persuaded by this line of argument to adhere to old tenets and resent reform but there are several weak points in it. In the first place if a new vigorous nation has been produced by a combination of several old nations, it is not destruction of any old nation and no matter for regret. The present English race is only a combination of Angles, Butes, Danes, Celts and Normans. The old Anglo saxon race cannot be said to have expired. (2) If the Hindu Nation has survived, it is not due to asceticism and indolence but heroism and passionate love of the world which in spite of the stupefying waves of false beliefs, has shown from time to time, in different quarters of this our favourite and glorious country. (3) Survival in wretchedness and misery is not to be preferred to vigorous new combinations.

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Such survival means ultimate ruin if not by sword, by poverty and disease. Slow extinction is not less real because it is spread over centuries or generations. If it be a fact that the Hindus have survived without change, show me where are the old Yadavas, Kurus and Pandavas or descendants of Buddha, Bhoja or Vikrama, Chera-Chola, Pandya and Ballal Kings.

But it is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. I shall resume the inquiry which the quotations of the several authors suggests into the causes of the break down of the Hindu Nation.

First of all was their military art rude? There can be no doubt, whatever Prof. Wilson or any one else may say to the contrary, that there were several faults in it (1) The employment of elephants was hardly based on good judgement. It occasioned many disasters which would otherwise not have occurred. Prithwiraj Chach, Raghoba and many others suffered defeats by this animal's non-combatant conduct. (2) Want of arrangement in solid columns was another defect. It is this arrangement that enables a small army to concentrate its force at desired points. Other arrayed movements serve other purposes but they were unknown during two thousand years. Chakra Vyuha and Makara Vyuha and others are mentioned in the Mahâbhârat but in later times they were either forgotten or considered useless. (3) Use of match-locks against hammer guns was an undoubted inferiority. (4) Heavy artillery was less effective against a lighter one. Many other defects will probably be found such as absence of commissariat arrangements, mixture of rabble with regular forces and others. It may therefore be said that though in individual cases Hindus were inferior to no

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one in skill, valour or physical strength as a force they fell short.

How far climate is responsible for India's military defeats is the next point. I have already observed that it is not wholly true. India had Bheemsen in the Mythical age, Châmundaràya in Mahamedan times, Bâbàjee Pailwàn in the nineteenth century and Prof. Ramamurti now. They are all marvels of strength almost without equal. Food and social rules have really much more to do with physique than climate. Through asceticism and overregard for animal life, the Hindus gave up at one time both good food and good social rules, and orthodox patriotism now comes in the way of a frank admission of these faults or change. They left off going to other countries because more and more self-contented and proud, added early marriages to polygamy, prohibited widow marriage, gave legislative sanction to frightful rites like widowburning, did not use navigation for foreign trade, gave up even the love of chase and fishing, abjured animal food and temperate use of drink, freely used opium, bhâng and other highly injurious preparations of these drugs, added caste to race distinctions and forgot national wants and aims. Where is the propriety of finding fault with climate alone? Robert Orme is far from doing this. He only mentions it as one of the causes of national weakness and he is quite right when thus understood.

The third point is dissention and disunion. The great war of the Mahâbhârat was the first grand fratricidal contest and the advice given by Krishna was clearly opposed to national good but this advice together with a long dissertation is piously held to this day as containing the essence of all moral and divine truth. The conduct of Duryodhana

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was no doubt obstinate and disrespectful and Krishna was forced to advise war but it left India denuded of heroes. The contest between Parashuram and the Kshatriyas which preceded the Mahâbhârat war by a long interval was not fratricidal but equally harmful. After the Mahâbhâratwar came contests for the throne of Magadha or Behar between the Nandas and Guptas. Then came wars between the several Rajput kings among themselves and with the Kings of Guzrat Malwa and Kanoj. Col Tod and Mr Forbes have laid India under deep debt by narrating these in a learned, graphic and exhaustive manner. In Southern India the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings appear to have exhausted themselves by wars and Vijayanager was founded by its first king Harihar in the fourteenth century but at that time Mahomedan power had already penetrated as far as Gulbarga and though Vijayanagar has been called a forgotten empire, its history hows that it lived as a tributary state of Gulbarga. It will be said that these wars cannot be regarded as a special feature of India. They have occurred in all countries. England had its war of Roses, Rome and Greece had their party strifes, France had its Revolution. Every country however was left exhausted after these strifes and so was India. This exhaustion of the country should not be looked upon as the sole cause of its political downfall but only one of several causes, but the more frequent the strifes, the greater the weakness of the country affected. Those who want to get at the nature of causes, volume or bitterness of these strifes must read Forbes and Tod or their translations in Marathi by Loka Hitawadi and in Guzrati by other authors. There are three things however which have quickened the fruit of these dissensions and disunions. Sometimes Mahamedans were actually called in for revenge, (2) they

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were used as allies and entertained as soldiers, (3) after defeats they were sometimes generously liberated. Some gratefully remembered the generosity but some turned on their benefactor. Shahabuddin Gori is an instance of the latter kind and Mahamed of Malwa is an instance of the former. Runk's case which is related in Mr. Frobes' Guzrat shows how he, becoming dissatisfied with his own King Shiladitya paid the expenses of a foreign invasion, disclosed secrets to the foreign king and had his own king destroyed. The cause for all this was that Shiladitya's daughter had some ornament of Runka's daughter taken away by use of force which he would not part with for money. The entertainment of Mahamedan soldiers was becoming popular with all Guzrat and Rajput Princes, which shows increase of luxury and dislike of military life, probably also increase of asceticism as a kind of re-action of luxury. This brings us to the question of luxury as having undermined the military spirit of India to a certain extent. The reaction of luxury is asceticism and both one and the other appear to have affected Indian life deeply at different periods. Polygamy the last of all luxuries was common to almost every Hindu King, the quotation from Robert Sewell's Vijaynagar will show to what extent the evil had grown. The cases of Siddha Raj and Kumbho Rana of Pattan and Chitore respectively will show that the best of kings were sometimes slaves of this passion. Kumbho's case is not so bad but Siddha Raja not only tried to marry Ranik Devi after killing her husband but killed her young sons of 5 and 11 and was the cause of the queen burning herself in disgust.

The last point is asceticism and indolence. These have been a very potent cause in India of weakness not only

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military but mental. The former has been supposed to be a direct means of knowing God, avoiding death, transcending senses and rising above all physical laws. The principle of life has been supposed to be different from matter, body and breath as obstructions to the knowledge of this principle and every possible stress has been laid on the precept to bring the body under control by every species of austerity, to suspend breath, disregard all ties of relationship, regard the world as transient and false and thus realize and know the eternal principle of life i. e. God. No sooner was this statement made than its absurdity was felt, and at once an opposite precept was laid down that this way of attaining God was only the lot of the highest and to the ordinary men, hard work and perfect regard of life and society were as necessary as if no such way existed. A reconciliation between these opposite doctrines has excercised the intelligence of all the Hindu theological writers and brought out their ingenuity and capacity of argument. This ingenuity has overwhelmed the sense of most people in India and its charm has engrossed their thoughts just as ritual has engrossed the life of another class of thinking men. Some took to ritualistic life and others to contemplative life. No one remained to question nature and find out its laws. Matter was regarded as inanimate and not worth inquiry. Every mystery was in the animate principle and it was to be studied by itself. This study has not proved very fruitful. The reconciliation has saved society from utter destruction but has taken away passionate love of life, vigorous action and hopefulness. There is a sort of inanition in the whole social frame. Work is done so far as it is necessary for maintenance Development is hardly thought of. Theories of transmi-

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gration, predestination and Karma govern Hindu life and serve to keep up the inanition. Spasmodic effort was made by the Marathas for about half a century under the guidance of a few patriotic men of extraordinary character and vigour to rescue the Deccan from Mahamedan supremacy (as the Rajputs did from time to time to save their country) but as soon as the object was accomplished, a chapter of plunder of neighbouring territories succeeded the patriotic period and within about a century and half disunion and inanition reasserted themselves.

In India there was and can, for some time, be no progress from within. The introduction of English Civil and Criminal laws was a work of Government, the establishment of Universities was a work of Government, the Institution of self Government on the lines of self-governing Colonies or other reforms must, whenever it takes place, be also the work of Government. Led by a superior power India is fit for any angelic work; without such power it will be a prey, first, to Satan's forces whatever else may follow.

It will be said that the country has shown signs of independent life by the establishment of people's own Universities, such as the National University of Calcutta, Moslem and Hindu Universities. No doubt these signs are very encouraging, so far as they go, but after all they are a very small step where such a question as self-government is raised. There would appear to be room for thirty if not three hundred Universities in India before the problem of self-Government can be seriously considered.

I have already had occasion to refer in several places in this book to the chief tenets of Hinduism but I have not presented any argument or opinion in favour or against any of them. I propose as a conclusion of this chapter to exa-

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mine the chief doctrines advanced in the well-known 'Geeta a book which has been long considered by all Vaishnavas in India as a great authority on all points of religion as well as man's duty in life. By religion is generally understood man's relation to God and duties imposed consequently on him. His duties in life relate (1) to learning (2) to maintenance of himself and family and (3) to public usefulness. This refers to Brahmins. The Kshatriyas administer and protect the country. The Vaishyas cultivate land and attend to commerce. The Sudra has no particular duty aid down but may perform what he may be fit for, chiefly, artizan's work and menial service. We find that division of work by hereditary distinction was inaugurated in India from a very early period. All the Smritis refer to it and they are only posterior to the Vedas. The seed of disunion discontent and disappointment was thus sown very early. The tree planted has grown to an enormous size and makes united action impossible. The civil and religious authority for the division has disappeared under a Christian Government but the hereditary distinctions remain. We find Brahmins in commerce and service. Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as teachers and Sudras in military service. The raison de etre of the hereditary distinctions has gone so far as occupation in life is concerned. It is in the important department of marriage that they remain and must remain there for a long time i. e. till caste comes to be altogether abrogated. What the Geeta has to say about this division of work will be stated in the order in which that book has treated subjects. Here it has been mentioned to show present condition of society.

The first subject treated in the Geeta is immortality of the soul. The Buddhist Christian and Mahomedan religions have no difference with Hinduism in this matter. It may

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be said therefore that this doctrine is common to all religions. As soon, however, as the doctrine of transmigration is joined to this immortality the Christian and Mahomedan faiths part company with Hinduism and Buddhism.

Mr. Spencer has shown in his system of philosophy how the idea of soul arises. It is a very able and ingenious explanation. At present I am concerned with the question of immortality. Why has man considered it necessary? The answer is that he finds that in this life his hopes remain unfulfilled, his wrongs remain unredressed and problems of nature remain unsolved. He therefore wants to prolong his existence under different conditions and satisfy his hopes, redress his wrongs and understand now Nature works. This is all the object of future life. Transmigration tries to carry out this object by keeping the soul engaged in successive lives and promising higher and higher life for better and better merit. The Christian and Mahomedan faiths have not considered it necessary to keep the soul thus engaged in an endless succession of lives and find a simpler method of carrying out the object by a general day of judgment.

As soon as this idea of a future life becomes strong the affairs of this world begin to lose interest. Man begins to argue that if complete happiness and justice and knowledge are to be gained after death and not in this life why should he care for this life at all, if everything in the world is a delusion, why should he participate in it, and if there be any royal road to obtain the favour of Providence, why should he not fix his attention on it and have an easy walk-over to heaven instead of troubling himself about this fleeting, uncertain and, betimes, most painful life. Religious teachers have, on this account, found themselves in every age and every country, in difficulty and dilemma.

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If they will speak much of future life and happiness and knowledge, people will care very little for the affairs of this life, and society will be ruined. If they will speak very little about future, they lose their own importance, people lose part of the wholesome dread which future existence inspires and care more for present happiness than for the honesty of the means by which such happiness is obtained. In order to free themselves from this difficulty and dilemma, religious teachers have invented a compromise between these two opposing forces and, while talking of a future state of complete happiness and knowledge have insisted on a scrupulous performance of the duties of this life as if it were no delusion but a thorough reality. The Geeta does no more nor less and reduces future life to the position of a complement of the present life. The theory of transmigration however makes future and past strings of life so very long that the present life must necessarily sink into insignificance and hence in India and other countries where either Buddhism or Hinduism prevails the compromise and religious teaching to regard this life as a reality and pay scrupulous regard to its duties have to a great extent failed in their purpose and people have struggled to gain liberation from all life and births and rebirths, in preference to heaven and happiness. The Christian and Mahomedan faiths have thus by discarding transmigration gained an advantage over Hinduism and Buddhism and their religious teaching and compromise have insured better regard to the duties of the present life than those of the two older religions.

It may not be inappropriate here to say whether, if immortality were altogether abandoned in its present sense, it would do any harm to society or promote its interests. Every man who is honest and candid will find no diffi-

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eculty to confess that he has not met any one who has been to heaven or come back from there to tell him his xperiences. Chemistry and physics have not brought to light any principle of life which persists to live after death or reappears in new forms. Astronomy has not discovered a heavenly region, and world-explosrers have failed to find the gates to Pluto's dominion or sea of milk containing the dragon-bed of the Protector of the world. All cob-webbian stories about heaven, hell and soul have melted away before the fierce blaze of advancing human knowledge. Psychic Research Institutes may have in store experiences to prove (1) the existence of life after death or of means of communication finer even than wireless telegraphy or (2) the performance of acts without visible agencies and so forth but these experiences are not the property of all. They remain in the bosom of the Institutes or of their members. To the outside world they are not open to free inspection or test and therefore they cannot claim the same attention as science. If therefore we regard death as the end of an individual's being, does society lose any great moral bond? If no soul of Vyasa or Socrates interviews mankind to-day do not their works, does not their character, remain before our eyes as if their souls lived for ever? Does not the cruelty of sophists towards Socrates or the treachery of Ravana towards Sita not arouse contempt against their mean conduct towards their victims as if the souls of the sophists and Ravana lived to this day? Even if, therefore, there be no permanent life for souls man's deeds have eternal life. And as the opinion of mankind which, though in error at one time, always shows a tendency to rise to the level of truth, is very valuable, it should not be supposed that moral bonds would be lost if the immortality of soul were denied. If on the

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other hand every soul were admitted to be an independent being there are so many dying and being born every day that no imaginably large account office could meet the wants of such a large number. The mosquitoes alone cannot be counted even by billions. Mr. Bose's discoveries show that plant life is so like animal life that a department would be necessary to keep a roll of souls of every blade of grass sprouting or dying. Altogether theory of permanent living soul for every separate organism of life, which no one sees, seems ridiculous. If it is necessary for inspiring dread, that dread ought to arise from the opinion of mankind which lasts as if every man's acts had immortality of life. It, therefore appears that even if the immortality of soul were discarded that of acts remains and this is enough to inspire any sensible man with dread against bad deeds The cause of morality does not suffer by abandoning the theory of souls. When the mind receives impressions of pain or pleasure, forms judgment, directs work, is capable of being instructed and improved, no functions remain for soul, and it is therefore, that modern psychological writers leave out soul. Moralists do the same thing and law-givers do precise. Those who argue the existence of soul from the existence of mind are committing an evident error. It appears that the more a man's attention is centred on the affairs of this life and the immortality of his acts and the more it is withdrawn from a future existence the greater will be the gain to the cause of morality. No one will postpone good work till to-morrow which he can do to-day and he will also do it with all his might as present neglect may be irreparable.

Although there is no evidence of the same individual life re-appearing in other forms i. e. if there is no

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evidence of transmigration there is any amount of it to prove transmission of the energy of life into homogeneous other lives and in this light every living organism had thousands of previous stages of life and may have thousands of future stages. Every living organism thus comes to be connected almost from a past eternity to a future one. If a person has issues of his own he comes to be directly connected with future lives and if he has none he is connected indirectly through relations. It is this great past and future eternity that forms, in my opinion, the great foundation of universal love, interest and help. It connects man not only with past generation of ancestors but even with lower forms of animal life and even plant life. He is also connected with all future life of the world and his acts are immortal. Therefore he cannot say that I shall live as I like. If he lives badly he will be guilty of wasting in his form the fruit of so much past work and also guilty of not assisting future life.

Deism, Theism, Unitarianism and Monotheism under any other name, have already given up incarnations and revelations. Let me hope that one day immortality of souls will be given up for immortality of acts, and transmigration of souls for transmission of energy and by doing so increase man's sense of responsibility to lead a religious moral and useful life. I say religious because science has only increased man's sense of his limited powers and necessity of reliance on a supreme power.

The second subject in Geeta is what is usually called ' duty for duty's sake, ' without looking to the fruit, as the fruit does not rest with us but is matter of Providential grace.

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This direction to do duty for its own sake is in a majority of cases a thoroughly useless one. It takes duty to be a matter beyond doubt or disputation which it generally is not. (2) It assumes that every man knows it or could know it which is generally not the case. (3) It supposes that its performance without looking to the fruit will be the wisest course. Usually such performance will be a very weak exhibition of wisdom.

(1) The first question is how is one to know what his duty is–Does any Brahman perform to-day duties laid down for a Brahmin in Manu's code ? Is it possible to perform them to-day ? Will it be wise to perform them without looking to the fruit ? The answers to all these questions must be in the negative. The question therefore remains how I am to know what is my duty to-day. Every age is different, every country is different, every man's circumstances are different. To define duty for every one is not possible. Every man has therefore to find it out for him every critical time or even generally, and every man's decision will be different. My decision how I am to act in a particular case may not suit my friend's temper and his decision may not suit a third man. Duty thus being in the majority of cases an undefined thing its performance for its own sake is a meaningless proposition except in those cases where it is a defined thing, a thing beyond doubt or disputation. Such cases are few and therefore, as a general rule, the position is either too wide or too narrow. I shall give a concrete instance to make my meaning clear. Shahajee, Sivaji and Sambhaji were all Kshatriyas. But how different was the life of each ? Shahajee thought it was his duty to serve the Moghul rulers and keep peace. Sivaji thought it was his duty to raise an independent kingdom and defy the Moghul rulers. Sambhajee thought it was his duty to enjoy life as a

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Prince and lose all his father's acquisition. Did Shahajee misunderstand his duty, or Sivaji or Sambhajee ? Every one of the three performed duty for its own sake but no one praises Sambhajee. Every one praises Sivaji. Shahajee is neither much praised nor blamed. All the three were soldiers and died without showing any unsoldierly quality but it is for fruit that greater or less share of blame or merit is awarded to each. The rule, " duty for duty's sake " has not therefore much meaning in it in a very great majority of cases.

(2) If a man does any thing without looking to the fruit his work will probably compare very unfavourably with that of men who considered, at every step, the attainment of their fruit and varied their endeavours as they found them calculated or otherwise for the accomplishment of their purpose. The most sensible rule would therefore be not " to do duty without looking to the fruit, " but to constantly bear the fruit before oneself and to vary endeavours according to their fitness to gain the object. Sometimes it may be necessary even to drop altogether, like Feroksiar, every appearance of work and putting the enemy on false scent, renew fighting and secure his defeat.

The Rajputs often followed the rule of the Geeta and sacrificed themselves and lost kingdoms when it was impossible to hope for success. They probably thought it was Kshatriya's duty to die in field and not look to success. They, probably therefore, failed to find out the cause of their defeats or to increase their resources, improve the quality of their arms, or to manufacture new arms. It was the same thing in Panipat when Sadashivrao Bhaoo died sword in hand in a dare-devil spirit. He did not

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listen to advice repeatedly given and mere martial courage was not enough to avert ruin. The rule of the Geeta therefore seems, unfortunately, to be calculated to do more harm than good, when it lays mores stress on duty than on success.

The Rajputs killed thousands of women in Vaults of fire before themselves going to die in a battle field. This was also done under a sense of duty for duty's sake. The custom of Sati was continued in the same sense. Thus we see that when the sense of duty is a mistaken one, much harm, is caused by its performance for its own sake. Secondly when attainment of success is not allowed to vary duty, its performance is apt to become more and more formal, unintelligent and unresourceful.

It is quite true that when in spite of all our efforts success does not come we should not be in despair. The Geeta says clearly that one should not be discomfitted by failure and this is but consistent with its other views. From the very begining a man is told to consider success or defeat as quite equal. Providence responsible for either and that he is only to do the duty which may be prescribed, because it is so prescribed. To such a man no despair is likely to come, and if he is told not to be disheartened, it is what one would expect Geeta to say.

Two reasons are given for doing duty (1) that if a man did not do it he might not get food to eat and die (2) that if it was not done, a bad example would be set and other men might follow it and ruin society. The first reason is not very sublime and as soon as food was obtained a man would consider himself quite absolved. Work would be confined to the lowest possible

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standard and the history of India shows that men have been content for generations with the barest necessaries of life. They gave up going to foreign countries, studying other languages, increasing arts or comforts, and people who were once remarkable for progress in arts and sciences, came to knew less than Mahomedans in the thirteenth century and much less than Europeans in the 18th.

When work is done for the sake of example, people soon find out the motive of the work and the faint-heartedness spreads through the whole society. Man has been told in the most unmistakable terms to do work without being attached to it yet in a way which people, who are attached to their work, would adopt; but however cleverly the mask may be worn the unattached character of work must some day become clear. In one way the work is an impossible feat to perform. Can we be indifferent to friendship and at the same time boon friends? If we could be this, both indifference and real friendly feeling lose thier meaning It is impossible that a thing should be dry and wet, hot and cold, dark and luminous, at the same time. It will thus be seen that the supposed golden rule about duty is full of imperfections, faults, and inconsistencies, and will never suit a progressive individual, society or nation. Most of the backwardness of India, most of its persistency and false pride, most of its spirit of opposition to reform, arise from this rule and its qualifications.

The third subject treated in the Geeta is the division of society into four classes according to work done in persuance of hereditary nature. Some people regard the division as made on the bases of quality of work but the last chapter of the Geeta shows distinctly that this division is not based on quality and character of work but on

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work done in pursuance of hereditary nature. The history of this country as well as the present constitution of society leaves no doubt about the hereditary nature of the division, and any claim which may be raised on behalf of the Geeta as a destroyer of heriditary Institutions becomes insupportable.

If we now find liberty in the country and learning and commerce, and arms, open to all classes equally, it is not the work of Geeta or any Hindu law-book but of a Christian Government.

(4) In the matter of the rights and position of women the Geeta, it is true, does not speak much of them but where it refers to the sex it speaks of them as on a par with Vaishyas and Sudras and as entitled to be saved by devotion. This does not show that the writer of the book had very elevated notions about their high trust, guardianship and usefulness in human society.

(5) The Geeta, closely following the Smritis assigns professions to classes : learning to Brahmins, arms to Kshatriyas, cultivation and commerce to Vaishyas and menial work to Sudras. Artizan's work is not mentioned, but it must be supposed as classed with menial work. The present day society treats all artizan hereditary classes as Sudras.

(6) The way in which the Geeta says that work should be done leaves no doubt of the pessimissm of the writer. Although he says that a Kshatriya should fight, the only reason he gives is that people should not be able to say that he avoided battle and betrayed cowardice. By being defeated he gets, he is told, kingdom in heaven, by conquering, he gets it here. In either way the Kshatriya does not lose anything by fighting. He has been told (1) to regard success and defeat in the same spirit of resignation and

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as results of the choice of Providence, (2) to discharge duty. (a) as hereditary nature may direct (v. 5 chap, 3). (b) to earn livelihood (v. 8. chap. 3), (c) without attachment (v. 9) also v. 19. chap. 3. (d) for the sake of example (v. 20), (e) to prevent a cataclysm of society (v. 24), (f) without thinking of success, (g) without being proud (v. 30 chap. 3), without engaging in desire or plan v. 19 chap. 4, (h) keeping himself under restraint (v. 21 chap. 4), (i) being content with what one may get (v. 22 chap. 4), (j) without jealousy and hatred, (k) burning every act in the knowledge of the great Self (v. 37 ch. 4), (k) considering that nothing is done by oneself (v. 8. ch. 5), (m) withdrawing mind from acts (v. 13. ch. 5) &c., &c., and yet to do the duty in the same way as a person who is immersed in his work may do. I have noticed this contradiction once above and I shall not refer to it again but proceed to another point which is important.

(7) This point is : why has a person been told to keep his temper so entirely unaffected by any interest in his work ? Why should a man do work only when it is necessary for maintenance of his body or when non-performance would be regarded as a misdemeanour or crime ? The answer to this has been clearly laid down. It is stated that any consciousness of self [man's self] would involve him in re-births and liberation would be lost. In order that liberation may be gained and yet work performed, every interest or self-consciousness, every vestige of pride is to be obliterated.

Why should liberation from births be desired ? Because the world is full of pain-at least more pain than pleasure. This is clear pessimism but it has been modified

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by the direction that work should be done so far as it is necessary to earn livelihood or save oneself from infamy.

(8) It is very remarkable again that when a man is told to keep himself above all interest in things and actions, no distinction is made between good and bad things and acts. The dominant note is : ' escape from this world and its enjoyments by giving up all real interest in work (without showing it) and not by leaving work or refusing to do it. ' No distinction is made between good or bad, innocent or harmful, beneficial or destructive, moral or immoral, selfish or unselfish. A thousand times a man is told not to take interest in any act.

V. 15. chap. 2 says, in effect, ' Remain same in pain and pleasure and you will get immortality. '

V. 38 chap. 2 says, in effect, " Treat loss and gain as same and you will be freed from sin. "

V. 39 and 40 chap. 2 refer also to the great goal of freedom from the fruit of work and the troubles of this world (viz. birth, old age and death).

V. 4 and 7 chap. 3 says, " Do not refuse to do work nor give it up, but do it without being attached to it. "

V. 9 and 14 chap. 4 say in effect, " Believe in incarnations of God as controlling the world without, taking part in it either by act or desire. "

V. 16 and 19 chap. 4 refer to the same goal and advise the same remedy to give up desire and plans in every act.

V. 21 chap. 4 says that a man who does work only with his body gets no sin. V. 37 chap. 4 says that the consequences of acts are destroyed by the knowledge that the doer of every thing is God.

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V. 10 chap. 5 says " If you leave results of your work in God then they do not affect you, you must give up attachment. "

V. 22 says " you must give up every enjoyment. It all leads to misery. "

V. 4 chap 6 says, " Give up desire for every object, act or plan.

This strain of speaking about the world as the great fearful object and of want of attachment without its being discovered as the great remedy to escape from it, runs through the whole book.

V. 27 and 28 chap. 9 say that by consigning every act in God a man will be relieved from the fruit of both good or bad acts and from ties resulting from the acts. In chapter 14 there is reference to contentment, greed and vice but a man desirous of immortality must get over *all the three* (v. 20).

In verse 26 there is reference to devotion and this will, it is stated, enable a person to conquer *all the three tendencies* of human nature.

In chapter 17 verses 11 and 17 refer to performance of sacrifices without expectation of any fruit.

Verse 9 in chapter 18 refers to doing work without attachment and without expectation of fruit.

This commendation of doing work without feeling any attachment to it is thus found to prevail through the whole book. It hardly requires much argument to show that the results of such work must be poor in comparison with work done by a person taking ardent interest in it.

(9) Chapter 16 gives a long list of Godly virtues and a shorter one of demoniacal vices. The former mentions uni-

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versal kindness as one of the virtues along with ability, firmness and fearlessness on one side and peace and gentleness on the other. It would be very difficult, to say the least, how fearlessness and gentleness are to be used at the same time and how kindness and peace can be maintained when an enemy comes and destroys hearth and home.

Verse 12 rightly condemns unjust acquisition of property but verses 13, 14 and 15 seem a too general condemnation of all activity. They rightly condemn over-ambition and excessive pride but they also condemn every notion of strength, happiness, help and resource. Without some such notions the best behaved individual cannot hope to maintain a farthing with himself and without them the virtues—fearlessness and ability—would be destitute of meaning.

Verse 21 condemns all desires and anger as leading to hell. If a man is to have even a farthing with him, he must not only have desire for it but also anger to protect it when some one tries to take it away.

In fact, separate lists of virtues and vices cannot be made. As soon as anything exceeds the bounds of prudence, it ceases to be a virtue and when a thing usually considered bad is done under certain conditions, it not only looses its bad character but comes in the list of virtues. When kindness extends to snakes and scorpions or thieves and brigands, it is not a virtue but a great vice and weakness. If a person robbing and about to kill an innocent man were attacked and killed to save the innocent man the act would not be counted as murder but secure praise as being heroic.

When, therefore, any book tries to make out separate lists of virtues and vices without carefully detailing difference of conditions, it cannot avoid errors.

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(10) Verse 24 of chapter 16 enjoins faith in religious books and the previous verse 23 says that acts done without faith bear no fruit and lead to no happiness. This checks all spirit of inquiry and improvement and every religious book does it because religious teachers do not encourage spirit of inquiry and do not consider improvements possible in what they deliver to mankind as knowledge directly given by God.

In the chapter on devotion (12) the writer of the Geeta advises first that every work should be consigned to God and done in his name (2) that a person should feel the same in pain and pleasure (3) leave joy, anger, fear and despair (4) be the same towards enemies and friends (5) the same in honour and dishonour, praise and censure.

One verse in chapter 9 deserves to be particularly noticed. It is verse 39. It says " whatever the wickedness of a man as soon as or if he worships Me with singleness of mind then he must be considered a saint and a man of good conduct. " It is not clear whether the man when he begins to worship God, leaves his wickedness and becomes a saint. In that case there is not much to be said against it; but if it means that he continues wickedness while worshipping God, then the doctrine is quite dangerous.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the principal point of the Geeta is to free one-self from the effects of all acts, good or bad, and secure liberation-i. e. freedom from re-birth

The great remedy found for this purpose, is consigning all acts and their fruits in God and doing them without taking any real interest but yet in such a way that the want of interest may not be known.

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It is stated that the performance of good acts takes a man to heaven and bad acts take a man to hell. Hereditary nature plays a great part in inclining a man to good or bad acts. Hereditary classification of society has been adhered to and duties follow this classification. It is stated that religious books must be believed and acts done according to what they may say; otherwise there is no fruit of any act, but that it is far better to consign every act in God and do it in his name and secure liberation.

A man who believes in God and worships him with singleness of purpose, must be considered a saint in spite of his wickedness, however great. Such a man, if he really wants to worship God, must feel himself the same in pleasure and pain towards friend and enemy &c. &c. and consign every act in God.

It cannot be denied that the doctrines of the Geeta is above-stated are, in a sense, lofty, though chaotic and inconsistent, but they cannot lead to progress in science, and will never enable people " to disentangle the intricate web of the elementary forces of nature to lay bare the many interwoven threads, to break up the equilibrium of actual existence and to carry within their power or under their control forces of undreamt of magnitude."

I do not think that work done under a mask of interest but really without interest will ever lead any society to prosperity, open the way of new inventions and discoveries or promote the cause of human happiness.

Here I leave this short notice of this very learned book. Hundreds of people have felt admiration for the ability with which it has been written. But faults are faults, history is history, and results are results. If, two thousand years after, a book is written, we cannot see

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any room for change or improvement in it, either the world has not made progress or we are too orthodox. I have stated my views whatever they are, but have not the faintest hope that they will be liked by orthodox and narrow-minded men who venerate superstition more than science, mythology more than history, popular praise more than truth.

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NOTE ON ELECTION REFERRED TO ON PAGE 96.

From one man one vote to votes of aristocratic or oligarchic bodies there are different ways of granting franchise. No one can say that in India the time has come for one man one vote system. Proper electorates should, therefore, be formed on the basis of population, income and education separately and afterwards combined according to qualifications of the candidates required.

It does not seem advisable to use Municipal and Local Board bodies for such purposes.

Electorates should be formed from registers of land-holders, income tax-payers, graduates or other classes deemed fit to give votes. These are matters of detail and can be considered at their time.

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Erratum.

Page.		Incorrect.	Correct.
1	Preface	Draught	Drought.
14	Marginal Note	improgressive	Unprogressive.
65	Line 24	postion	position.
80	Line 28	Muximum	Minimum
110	Line 19	Refarence	Reference.

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Digitized with financial assistance from
NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach
on 16 November, 2018

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